

THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY

OF CARDINAL XIMENEZ

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OF  
CARDINAL XIMENEZ

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RETRATO DE EL CARDENAL  
DON FR. FRANCISCO XIMENEZ,  
DE ZISNEROS

*Leclerc fecit*

## FOREWORD

This Thesis is intended to be a historical survey of the ecclesiastical policy that governed the activities of Cardinal Ximenez on his becoming a public servant, following his appointment as confessor to Queen Isabella. It is not designed to be a biography, although of necessity many biographical notes have entered therein. For the most part, excepting in the Introduction, many facts relating to his life, while interesting, have been omitted as not germane to the study. Hence, anyone familiar with the life of Ximenez will note the absence of much material which apparently has been overlooked. He may likewise discover a great deal to which seemingly undue emphasis has been given. If this be true, it is only because it was essential for a truer interpretation of the Cardinal's policy or to correct several errors that recent investigation has demonstrated to be present in many of the standard works on Ximenez and the period in which he lived.

The same policy has been adopted in dealing with the general history of Spain. When events or movements had a distinct bearing on shaping the Cardinal's activities and attitudes, they have been considered in this relation; otherwise, they have been omitted as not essential to this work.

The plan that has been largely followed is to present



the distinct fields of endeavor in which the Cardinal labored, following them to their conclusion, rather than to study the events in their chronological order. However, these different subjects have been considered in their order of origin. One exception to this scheme is found in Chapter V. where it was necessary to discuss then the first regency of Ximenez, and not later on, as out of it grew his appointments as Cardinal and Inquisitor-General.

With but a few exceptions, the bibliography is a compilation of works consulted in the preparation of this thesis. In all cases, unless otherwise stated, they are the sources to which reference is made.

The Author has been greatly indebted to the many librarians and their assistants who, in Great Britain, the United States of America, and Spain, have liberally assisted him in his search for authentic and original sources. Particularly is he indebted to the librarians of the Universidad Central and the Centro de Estudios Historicos of Madrid for their kindness in giving him full and free access to many priceless manuscripts and documents under their care, as well as to many rare books which only a privileged few are permitted to examine.

The Author

San Anselmo, California  
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## INTRODUCTION

### FIFTEENTH CENTURY SPAIN

Cardinal Ximenez, in common with other great persons of history, was, to a large extent, the product of his times.<sup>1</sup> He began his life during the first half of the fifteenth century, when Spain was casting off the shackles that had enslaved her during the Middle Ages. His infancy and youth were unfolded during the tempestuous and grievous reigns of Kings John II and Henry IV. The most fruitful years of his life were spent during Spain's golden era when politically she came to her own under Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic; when the Kingdom of Granada, through the defeat of the Moors, and the Americas, through the intrepid journeys of Columbus, were added to the crown; and when the Church, greatly aided by the Inquisition, was gaining in ascendancy and power. His life spanned that very critical period wherein an old form of culture gave way to a new, with the emerging of the Modern Period out of the Middle Ages;

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<sup>1</sup>For a more detailed and complete survey of this period see Ballesteros y Beretta, "Historia de España y Su Influencia en la Historia Universal," vol iii; LaFuente y Zamalloa, "Historia General de España"; Mariana, "Historia General de España," and Prescott, "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic."

when men had become restless and confused in their thinking by their sudden impact with new patterns of thought, and when strong leadership was required to make Spain ready for the new day that was dawning in world history.

The invasion of the Moors, in the beginning of the eighth century, had broken Spain up into a number of independent states which, though peopled by members of the same race, were often hostile to each other and would engage in such fierce warfare as to threaten the very life of the nation. About the only time they maintained anything like friendly relations was when they were fighting their common enemy, the Moor. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, most of these states had been conquered and absorbed by either Aragon or Castile so that besides these two, there existed only the Kingdom of Navarre, in the heart of the Pyrenees, at the north, and the Moorish Kingdom of Granada, at the south. Of the four, Castile ranked first in importance and exacted homage from the other states both because of her size, extending as she did from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean, and because of her antiquity since it was in Castile that the Gothic culture was first revived after the Saracen invasion.

Of outstanding significance during this period was the high state to which the principles of free government had been developed. Two forces united in bringing this about. The first of these was the very liberal theories of government that had been a part of the Spanish heritage since the

Visigoths had conquered the Peninsula in the fifth century and by which the commoner was granted many privileges unknown elsewhere. The second of these forces was the presence, from the eighth century onward, of the Saracen invader who, because of his many predatory incursions and destruction of crops and other real property, compelled the Spaniards to develop a strong local government in each community for their own protection.

Hence, each city became a fort and every citizen was required to become proficient in the use of arms and to be ready, at a moment's notice, to battle the Saracen. In return for this service, the householder demanded and received certain municipal and judicial privileges. While these varied somewhat in detail, they were in general uniform throughout the Peninsula. By virtue of them, magistrates, instead of being appointed by the crown, were elected to their office by the townspeople who also provided them adequate funds for the discharge of their official duties. Similarly, justices for the administration of both civil and criminal law were appointed not by the crown but by the magistrates. Their decisions, however, were always subject to appeal to the royal court. No person could be deprived of personal or property rights except by action of the municipal court and no case might be carried to a higher court while a decision was still pending in a lower one. As an additional safeguard to guarantee that the rights of every

citizen would be respected and not violated by the unwarranted interference of the powerful nobility, many of the town charters prohibited nobles from acquiring property within the limits of the township; neither could they erect palaces or fortresses there; nor could they claim exemption from the laws of the community in which they were residing but were to become subject of that town. Each town had, as a part of its officary, an appointee of the crown whose function was to aid in the maintenance of order, to superintend the collection of the royal tax, and to assure an armed force for national defence.

Popular representation existed as early as the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> Each city had the privilege of sending to the "cortes" two or more representatives who were selected from persons eligible to the magistracy, but whatever their number, each city was entitled to only one vote. In Castile, these deputies were originally elected by the householders but eventually the municipalities usurped this privilege, a practice which defeated the principles of popular and free government in that only too often the persons selected were under obligation to the crown.

Notwithstanding this and other defects, the commons exercised a vastly greater power than did similar bodies in other European nations. No taxes could be levied without

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<sup>1</sup>The earliest date on record in Aragon was 1133; in Castile, 1169. Prescott, pp. 33 and 10.

their consent and all expenditures were subject to their approval. They scrutinized most carefully the administration of all public officers, especially that of justices, and made recommendations for the correction of abuses. They determined the expenditures for military supplies in time of war and negotiated alliances with foreign powers. Their approval of the validity of a title to the crown was essential as was also their consent for the appointment of regents and the authority which was to be granted them.

But while the principles of law and order were gaining ascendancy in the life of the separate communities, lawlessness was rife elsewhere. Travel was unsafe, even under heavy arms, because of the bands of marauding robbers that infested the country roads and were ready to strip the unwary traveller of all his belongings. And not a few of these robbers were members of the nobility who, under one pretext or another, at times would exact tribute from the commerce that traversed their lands; at other times they impudently headed foraging raids, completely disregarding the rights of the unfortunate farmer. Indeed, it might be said that the nobility as a whole was altogether lawless as they respected only the law of a greater force.

This unusual state of affairs was made possible by the tremendous power that had come to the nobility after they had recouped their lands and wealth which had been lost to the Moorish invader.

Following the coming of the Arab, the Spanish monarch, who once had been the master of the whole peninsula, saw his



kingdom reduced to a few barren and forbidding rocks. Stripped of all his power and wealth, he was compelled to seek the aid of the more vigorous of the nobles who, in an effort to regain their own ancient patrimony had enlisted an independent army which was little more than a wandering horde. In return for their services in driving the Saracen southward, the nobles were granted a number of prerogatives which, when added to those they had already usurped from time to time, made them a privileged class indeed. They were exempted from general taxation. They were permitted to settle their disputes with neighboring nobles by resorting to arms. They could not be tortured or imprisoned for debt. They had the privilege of denaturalizing themselves, when aggrieved by their sovereign, and of allying themselves with his enemy. They occupied a seat in the national legislature and were eligible to the privy council. And they held, by virtue of seizure, the higher offices of state and the grandmastership of the many military orders with their accompanying revenues and patronage.

These unusual privileges were also conducive to the accumulation of great domains and of a vast wealth. So great were the estates of the "Good Constable" Davalo, during the reign of King Henry III, for example, that he could ride on them all the way from Sevilla to Compostella. Alvaro de Luna had twenty thousand vassals at his command. And it has been estimated that the combined revenues of the Castilian nobility at the close of the fifteenth century was equivalent

to one third of those of the entire kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

As the wealth of the nobles increased, so increased also their haughtiness and arrogance. Their anarchy and passion for greater power kept Spain in a convulsed condition. In Castile, the sovereign could keep their peace only by his patronage and improvident gifts; in Aragon, he was regarded only as a rival of the nobles and not as a superior to whom they owed any allegiance.

It was inevitable, therefore, that the continuance of such an unhealthy condition should greatly circumscribe the monarch in the exercise of his lawful rights. He was still further limited by the "cortes" and the privy council of which the chief nobility and the higher officers of state were a part. He could enact no legislation without the concurrence of the "cortes" nor could he exert any judicial authority other than that of selecting members to the higher judiciaries and then only from a list of candidates that had been submitted to him by the remaining members and the privy council.

With this gradual diminution of his lawful authority, there also took place a similar diminution of his revenues. Notwithstanding an ancient law that entitled the sovereign, in addition to his normal revenue, to a fifth of the spoils of war, the royal income was constantly at a low ebb. The tribute already mentioned, which he was compelled to pay the

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<sup>1</sup>Prescott, pp. 16, 17.

nobility as a price for their allegiance, and the sequestering of royal funds during Spain's many minorities accounted for much of the impoverished condition of the royal treasury. But perhaps one of the greatest reasons was the prodigality of many of the sovereigns who squandered much of the public funds in extravagant living. This comparatively obscure place to which the monarch had been relegated both economically and politically, prevailed until the ascendancy of Isabella and Ferdinand who restored to the crown most of the royal prerogatives.

In marked contrast to the ever decreasing power of the crown was the ever increasing power of the church. There were two elements that had made inevitable the prestige and influence which the Spanish church enjoyed. The first of these was an intense religious solidarity that had been developed during the centuries when the Spaniard was in conflict with the Moor. The second was a sense of independence from all outside authority, even papal, that had been fostered by the church's long and proud record of ever espousing the cause of orthodoxy. Nowhere else in all Latin Europe was the Church so intimately bound up with national life or so independent of the Roman See.

This unique position of the Spanish Church had had its inception almost as soon as Christianity had made any inroads into the Iberian Peninsula. Either because of its geographical remoteness from the Eastern Church or because of the peculiar temperament of the people, the Spanish Church

did not lend itself to theological speculation and had always been comparatively free from those heretical teachings that had elsewhere threatened the life of the Christian Church. As a consequence, the Spanish Church had ever been regarded as the exponent of the true Catholic faith and her prelates, bishops especially, who had already attained an enviable position in the national life,<sup>1</sup> began to cultivate a spirit of independence that at times amounted to but little less than rebellion against papal authority. As early as the seventh century, the national councils of Toledo had gone counter to Roman opinion. In 684 they unequivocally denied the doctrine of papal infallibility and four years later, charged Pope Benedict II with inexcusable ignorance and incompetency.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the Spanish Church manifested her independence from Rome by continuing to use the Gothic form of worship until the eleventh century, as opposed to the Roman or Gregorian that uniformly prevailed elsewhere, and by granting the sovereign complete jurisdiction over ecclesiastical causes.

This freedom from papal oversight was somewhat curbed, however, in the thirteenth century by the celebrated code of King Alfonso X, whereby many of the prerogatives that had hitherto been held exclusively by the crown were transferred

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<sup>1</sup>The influence of ecclesiastics in national life may be traced back to the age of Visigoths, when they largely controlled the affairs of state in the national councils at Toledo.

<sup>2</sup>McCrie, pp. 21 and 22.

to the pope. But a century later, fearful lest Rome might exert too great an influence in the Spanish Church and, through it, in the affairs of state, the monarchs insisted that thereafter only Spaniards should be appointed to vacant bishoprics and that papal taxes should be definitely limited.

Meanwhile, the ecclesiastics did not take kindly to the sacrifices they had been required to make to Rome and, in an effort to indemnify their loss, they began to assert their independence from the crown as well as from the Roman See. They claimed exemption from taxation and only reluctantly assumed their share of the cost of such a sacred cause as the warfare against the Moor. They meddled in affairs of state and, at times, openly flaunted royal authority.

The enviable position which the Church attained was further strengthened by her activity in the war against the Moors. Through her influence its nature was changed from one of re-conquest to one of a holy crusade. The presence of the Arab was held to be not only an outrage against the Spaniard's keen sense of patriotism but, in a deeper sense, against his religious sensibilities as well. Church and State joined, therefore, in a holy warfare in which ecclesiastics mingled freely with warriors, firing their imagination with reported miracles, filling them with the spirit of the crusader, and often, with a crucifix aloft, leading them into battle.

This alliance of sacred and profane forces very definitely increased not only the temporal power of the Church but

her temporal wealth as well. To the vast territories and princely revenues already in her possession, were now added a portion of each town conquered from the Moors, with its contiguous lands, which the Church claimed as her share of the spoils of war. The revenues thus derived were used for the support of some existing convents or for some new religious establishment. It is practically impossible to estimate the wealth of the Church at the close of the fifteenth century, inasmuch as to the value of her known properties and rentals would have to be added the unknown value of her vast holdings of precious stones and metals which were deposited in the many church treasuries. Suffice it to mention that the abbess of the monastery of Huelgas, in the province of Burgos, to which belonged some of the daughters of the noblest families in Castile, had under her jurisdiction fourteen capital towns and over fifty smaller places, and was regarded as being inferior in dignity only to the queen. The archbishop of Toledo was, by virtue of his office, also primate of Spain and grand chancellor of Castile, and, next to the pope, was the highest dignitary in Christendom. His revenues exceeded eighty thousand ducats and those of his beneficiaries amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand. He had at his command a greater number of subjects than anyone else in the kingdom and exercised jurisdiction over fifteen large towns in addition to a great number of smaller places.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, so powerful had

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<sup>1</sup>Prescott, pp. 20 and 21.

the Church become that she successfully resisted and defeated every attempt that was made to curb her holdings even though they often meant the sacrifice of greatly needed public revenues.

This enormous income, in many instances, was wisely used for the establishment of charitable institutions, hospices, and schools, some of which continue to this day. But these funds were also a temptation to the worldly minded to live a luxurious life and to gratify their vanities and passions, if not to advance their political aspirations. Intrigue, immorality, and laxity were to a greater extent noticeable by their absence than by their presence, so accepted had they become in the thinking of the day. Concubinage was openly practiced by the clergy and repeatedly it was the subject of ecclesiastical and civil legislation in an attempt to control and eliminate it. So unsuccessful, however, was this legislation that the illegitimate offspring of the clergy were not only tolerated but were the beneficiaries of special statutes which were enacted to protect their patrimony.<sup>1</sup>

One of the factors that largely contributed to the laxity and luxury of the clergy was the extravagant living of many of the wealthy laity. The more populous districts, especially those of Castile, had become exceedingly wealthy. Under the influence of the Moors, great progress had been

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<sup>1</sup>Lea, "History of Sacerdotal Celibacy," p. 379.

made in the development of industry and agriculture. By means of elaborate systems of irrigation, many waste lands had been reclaimed and others made more productive. At the same time, many of the trades, which later were looked down upon, were given unusual recognition and were greatly encouraged by a liberal patronage; they were further aided in their development by a highly organized guild system whose master craftsmen were often elevated to knighthood, so great was the prestige that many of them enjoyed.

As a result of the many advances which had been made in the mechanic arts and in the development of natural resources, a lively and most profitable commerce was engaged in with France, Flanders, England, and Italy. Chief exports were the natural products, oil, wine, and the celebrated wool from the merino sheep, and a few manufactured articles, mostly domestic fabrics, and some wrought gold and silver.

With the increase of wealth, there followed a corresponding increase in luxurious living. Immorality, cupidity, and craftiness became the fashionable sins of the age against which the more pious ecclesiastics vigorously but vainly inveighed. Grossness of thought and manner characterized all classes of men and had been so accepted as part of their daily life that it crept into much of the literature and drama of the times.

Notwithstanding the low moral level to which a large part of the Spanish people had descended, they had developed, because of their geographical situation, their conflict with



and exposure to the Arab, and their innate qualities, certain characteristic traits worthy of commendation. These were a proud sense of independence, a patriotic fervor, and a strong sense of religious solidarity. These were the traits that enabled the Catholic Kings to fulfill their political and religious ambitions and which were indispensable to Cardinal Ximenez in the furtherance of his ecclesiastical policy.

#### BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE OF XIMENEZ

Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros was born in the year 1436, in Torrelaguna, a village in the province of Toledo. Neither the day nor month of his birth are known as no mention has been made of them in any of the biographical sources and no parochial records of that century are in existence; even the year has had to be reckoned by the inscription on his tomb.

He was the eldest of three sons who were born to don Alonso Ximenez de Cisneros and doña Marina de la Torre, both of whom were members of ancient but by then quite decayed families of Castile. His father was of the lineage of Cisneros, one of the four oldest families of Castile, whose ancestral home was at the town of Cisneros,<sup>1</sup> in Old

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<sup>1</sup>The name is thought to have been derived from the great number of swans that were to be found in that region (the Spanish for swan being "cisne").

Castile.<sup>1</sup> In company with his brother Alvaro he had chosen the priesthood as his life's calling, but while Alvaro continued in his purpose, he did not. Instead, he went to Torrelaguna where he accepted the position of collector of tithes for the crown, a tax which had been levied to help raise funds with which to carry on the war against the Moors. While there he met Marina de la Torre whom he married. She also was of noble birth but belonged, however, to the lower nobility or "hidalgo" families. Her home was not far from Cisneros and there are indications that she probably was a kinsman of don Alonso as well as his countryman.<sup>2</sup>

Ximenez was baptized in the parish church of Santa Magdalena and was given the name Gonzalo, in memory of his noble ancestor, Gonzalo Ximenez "el Bueno". This name, however, he changed to Francisco when he entered the Franciscan order.

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<sup>1</sup>These families were, de Lara, which by the fifteenth century had already passed out of existence, de Haro, de Castro, and de Cisneros. The ancestry of Ximenez has never been conclusively established. Quintanilla, with his characteristic extravagant statements, makes him a descendant of King Pelayo, King Pepin, Charlemagne, and other royal notables. Some writers, like Robles and Barrett, have connected him with the famous family de Cisneros, but without satisfactory documentation. Others, like Prescott and Hefele, have discredited such a connection. However, recently there have been a number of documents brought to light which, when verified by archeological findings, leave but little doubt that Ximenez was a descendant of that ancient family. For an able presentation of this material, see Retana, "Cisneros y Su Siglo", vol i, pp. 19-35.

<sup>2</sup>Retana, p. 34.

The knowledge we have of his early life is very meagre. His home surroundings, very likely, were quite modest ones as his father's income would not permit many extravagances. His parents determined, nevertheless, to grant him the best educational opportunities that their circumstances would permit. Very early in his childhood, accordingly, they sent him to his paternal uncle, Alvaro, who held a benefice at Roa or Cuellar or possibly at both places.<sup>1</sup> This they did, not because they had dedicated him to the Church, as many of his later biographers state, but for reasons of economy, as his board would be less than if sent elsewhere and there would be no tuition fee.<sup>2</sup> Here he learned his first letters and the rudiments of Latin. Sometime later, when he had probably reached the age of twelve, he was sent to Alcala to continue his studies under more celebrated professors.<sup>3</sup> Here he proved to be such an adept pupil that on completing his course he was encouraged to attend the famous University at Salamanca. It is practically impossible to establish

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<sup>1</sup>According to Vallejo, it was "dende niño que supo hablar," p. 2. Alcolea, p. 12, states it was when he was seven years of age.

<sup>2</sup>There are no evidences in the early biographies that Ximenez had been destined to the Church. It is not likely that he was, else he would not have graduated from Salamanca in law.

<sup>3</sup>Alcolea, p. 2, has conjectured that Ximenez was ten years of age. Vallejo and Gomez make no mention of his age. It is more likely that he was twelve as that was the usual age they were placed under the care of a preceptor. Retana, p. 38.

the years he was there as none of his early biographers mention any of these early dates and as no records of matriculation earlier than those of the year 1504 are to be found in the archives of the University. Zacarias Villada has estimated that Ximenez was graduated in 1456 when he was twenty years of age.<sup>1</sup> If this were the case, he would have matriculated at fourteen or fifteen. Gomez, however, states that in addition to his regular course in ecclesiastical and civil law, he studied theology for two years under a famous master named Roa.<sup>2</sup> If this be the same Roa that the University records show was professor in Moral Philosophy, from the year 1463 to 1480, then Ximenez could not possibly have been graduated before 1464 when he was twenty eight years of age.<sup>3</sup> This would not be altogether improbable as during his stay at Salamanca he had to support himself and assist his family, which he did by privately tutoring in civil and ecclesiastical law and by managing some of the students' boarding houses. Having completed his studies, he returned to Torrelaguna where he engaged in the practice of law but with little financial success.

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<sup>1</sup> "Grandezas Españolas," p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Gomez, fol 2.

<sup>3</sup> According to Prescott, p. 434, and those who have followed him (Hefele, Fernandez Montaña, Alcolea, etc.), Ximenez spent six years at Salamanca. Possibly Prescott arrived at this conclusion from the "Constitutions" of Pope Martin V, which required a minimum of six years of study for graduation as bachelor.

On the advice of his father, who had also commissioned him with some legal business to be brought before the papal court, he went to Rome in search of better fortune. Misfortune, however, was his companion for twice on the way was he overtaken by robbers who despoiled him first of his horse and money and then, near Aix, in Provence, of even his clothes. Happily he met there an old school fellow of his from Salamanca, named Bruneto, who was returning to his native Rome and who liberally assisted Ximenez to continue his journey.

While in Rome, at the same time that he held the position of consistorial advocate at the papal court, a position which he discharged so faithfully as to win the warm commendation of his superiors, he continued his studies in theology and was eventually ordained to the priesthood. His very promising career at Rome was suddenly interrupted, unfortunately, by the news of his father's death. He hastily returned to Spain to assist his mother and brothers but not without first having obtained from the Pope a bull, or "letter expectativa" which granted him the first vacant benefice in the diocese of Toledo.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>According to Hefele, p. 4; Prescott, 434; Garcia Villada, p. 7, and others, he was six years at Rome. Coloma, p. 127, makes it seven. Neither Gomez nor Vallejo mention any dates in this respect. Neither do they mention that he was ordained, but evidently he was while at Rome else he would not have been granted a letter expectativa.

The practice of granting "*Epistolae Expectativae*" for benefices not yet vacant, though an evil one, was altogether legal. It had had its beginnings in the XII Century but was shortly thereafter proscribed by the Third Lateran Council, which was presided over by Pope Alexander III. His successors, however, sought means of circumventing the intent of the Council. Pope Celestin III, scarcely a decade after the Council was held, openly disregarded its dicta by granting several letters. Innocent II, who succeeded him, made a pretense of adhering to the spirit of the Council by forbidding letters to be granted under the form "*Promitto praebendam, cum vacabit*" but at the same time weakened the Council's intent by allowing another form, "*Promitto praebendam, cum potero, seu cum facultas se obtulerit.*" Finally, the Council's purpose was completely destroyed during the reign of Pope Boniface VIII, who forbade letters to be issued for a "particular" benefice but permitted them to be granted for any benefice "in general" which might first become vacant. Thus the way was opened for simony and every other kind of abuse and it was not uncommon, particularly during the schism of the Western Church, for benefices to be sold at a fixed price so as to replenish depleted treasuries of the Church.

The first benefice to become vacant in the diocese of Toledo, upon the return of Ximenez to Spain, was that of the Arch-priest at Uceda.<sup>1</sup> Its income was a modest one, but

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<sup>1</sup>The vacancy was not created by the death of the Arch-priest, as usually asserted, but by his removal because of conduct unbecoming an ecclesiastic. Retana, pp. 60-62.

it had a special appeal to Ximenez as it included his own town of Torrelaguna. By virtue of his papal letter, he laid claim to it not knowing that Alphonso Carrillo, who was then Archbishop of Toledo, had already promised it to a member of his household.

There was no one in all of Spain whom it might have been more unfortunate for him to have opposed than Carrillo who was noted for his blustering arrogance, his political ambitions, and his inflexible will. On several occasions he had exchanged his ecclesiastical vestments for the warrior's armor and had ever used his all-powerful position of Archbishop and Chancellor to further his schemes. While he was still Bishop of Sigüenza, he rode at the head of an army and fought at the side of King John II throughout the entire battle of Olmedo, the first of two in which he played a conspicuous role at that same place. As a minister in the court of Henry IV, he early became its most dominant figure meddling in all its affairs of state: he caused the annulment of the King's marriage to Blanche of Navarre, and then arranged for that unhappy monarch's marriage to the renowned Joanna of Portugal. Five years later, as he baptized their daughter Joanna, he maliciously added the nickname, "la Beltraneja," confirming thereby the general belief that her father was not the King but Beltrán de la Cueva, one of the Queen's favorites. Later, when he found others were becoming the confidant of the King, he openly showed his contempt for that weak and vacillating monarch and compelled

him by official action to declare Joanna illegitimate. When the breach between the two had widened, he haughtily received a royal legate on one occasion and bade him return with the message, "I have had enough of him and his doings; now we shall see who is king of Castile." After a mock trial at Avila, he caused an enthroned effigy of the king to be despoiled of its robes and insignia and, after it had been rolled in the dust, he declared the young prince Alphonso, then only eleven years of age, to be the true sovereign. He then headed an army of nobles, who had also rebelled against the king, and fought a second battle at Olmedo which, though a bloody one, had no further results than to intensify the bitterness between both contenders. The sudden death of Alphonso lessened somewhat the tension, but Carrillo still continued to dominate the political situation of Castile; he proclaimed Isabella heir to the throne and then secretly began to plan her marriage to Ferdinand of Aragon.

Carrillo, moreover, dealt with ecclesiastical affairs in the same vigorous manner. Repeatedly had he clashed with the papal court because of the way in which it disposed of church livings and was no more reluctant to hide his contempt for it than he was to hide it for the King. It was inevitable, therefore, that when Ximenez entered his claim to the benefice at Uceda, that he should incur the strong displeasure of Carrillo, especially since that prelate had already promised the same benefice to one of



his familiars. Ximenez, nevertheless, pressed his claim, saying, "that as he had obtained the benefice through just means, he would die before surrendering it."<sup>1</sup> The result of his adamant attitude was that, instead of his becoming the parish priest at Uceda, as he had hoped to be, he found himself incarcerated in one of its strong towers. He, notwithstanding, continued to claim title to the benefice and as he showed no signs of relenting, Carrillo had him transferred at the end of two years, to the fortress of San Torcaz, a prison for refractory ecclesiastics, where he was imprisoned for quite some time.<sup>2</sup> During his imprisonment he continued his studies in the Scriptures and conceived the idea of his monumental work, the Polyglot Bible. Here, too, in the solitude of the prison cell, "he developed a hypochondria and an aversion to the world that drove him to the cloister; and in the cloister, the former ecclesiastical lawyer was converted into theologian and mystic."<sup>3</sup>

Ximenez was finally released from prison, Carrillo having become convinced, no doubt, that nothing was to be gained

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<sup>1</sup>Vallejo, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez merely says, "many days," fol 3. Other biographers have placed his imprisonment at San Torcaz at four years.

<sup>3</sup>La Fuente, "Historia Eclesiástica de España," vol. iii, p. 15.

by keeping him there any longer since there were no indications of his being able to break that iron will. His decision was also influenced by the entreaties of the Countess de Buendia who was related both to the mother of Ximenez and to the Archbishop by her marriage to his nephew. No sooner was he released than, according to Vallejo, Ximenez returned to Rome to litigate his cause before the papal court and, having won his suit, he returned to Spain the possessor of additional benefices as well.<sup>1</sup>

Although other of his biographers make no mention of this possible second journey to Rome, there was recently brought to light in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, a document which seems to corroborate Vallejo's assertion. It is a bull of Pope Paul II, dated January 22, 1471, whereby the Arch-priesthood of Uceda is conferred to the Bachellor Gonzalo since "there has come to our ears, through the testimony of this same Gonzalo,.....the irregularities and scandalous conduct of Pedro Garcia who has made himself unworthy of the Archpriesthood...at Uceda." It then further states that, "if our venerable brother, the Archbishop of Toledo, or anyone else, should have apostolic privileges of granting or receiving a benefice, in general or in particu-

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<sup>1</sup>"Memorial," p. 3.

lar, it is invalid so far as this (benefice) is concerned..."<sup>1</sup>  
 It would seem, therefore, that since the letter "expectativa" which Ximenez had brought with him on his first return from Rome was of the "general" kind, not specifying a particular benefice, as this one certainly does, that the bull under discussion was a later one, evidently issued at the request of Ximenez to make good his claim. Furthermore, the tenor of its language would indicate that Ximenez himself had made an oral appeal before the papal court.

Ximenez, having thus bested Archbishop Carrillo, was not at all anxious of remaining under the jurisdiction of such a fiery superior any longer than was necessary, and immediately he sought an opportunity of transferring to another diocese. Such an opportunity came to him six months later<sup>2</sup> and he exchanged his benefice for the first chaplaincy at Sigüenza. Since, however, the revenues of the latter were greater than those at Uceda, he agreed to restore the difference to the former head chaplain of Sigüenza.

Ximenez, at Sigüenza, continued his studies in biblical lore and theology, and added to them those of Hebrew and Chaldee. Here, too, through his piety and industry he won unto

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<sup>1</sup>The original bull is to be found in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Registers of Paul II, series 537, fol. 212-14. It was published in the Archivo Ibero-Americano, 1920, vol. xiii, pp. 415-17.

<sup>2</sup>Coloma, p. 137.

himself the friendship and esteem of many persons of note among whom were his superior, Bishop Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, who later exerted such a remarkable influence in the life of Ximenez and in the history of Spain, and the Archdeacon of Almazan, wealthy Juan Lopez de Medina, who was influenced by Ximenez to establish a University at Sigüenza.<sup>1</sup>

It was not long before other extraordinary qualities were discovered in Ximenez besides those of piety and industry; among these were a remarkable business acumen and a scrupulous honesty. These came to the attention of the Count of Cifuentes who, on leaving for the War with Granada, entrusted unto Ximenez the administration of his vast estates, a responsibility which he met with singular faithfulness and to the complete satisfaction of Cifuentes.<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime, the Pope had honored Mendoza by elevating him to the rank of Cardinal in the year 1474, and had

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<sup>1</sup> Gomez, fol 3. If Gomez be correct in this, then it must have been the year 1471 that Ximenez went to Sigüenza. This would agree with Coloma's assertion that it was six months after taking possession of Uceda, as in that year the land was obtained on which to erect the University. (Retana, vol. i, p. 70, quoting, "Historia de la Orden de San Jeronimo," vol. ii, lib. i, cap. vi.) The year 1480, given by many of the biographers, is therefore in error. According to the records available, Ximenez was Chaplain at least by 1477 and, in January of that year, had been commissioned, with one Lopez Orantes, to defend a dispute between the chapter and the citizens of Jadraque. Retana, loc. cit. This would indicate that Ximenez had already been at Sigüenza sometime.

<sup>2</sup> Vallejo, p. 4.

conferred on him the added title of Cardinal of Spain. At about the same time, King Henry IV had made Mendoza Bishop of Seville. Inasmuch as Mendoza still retained the bishopric of Sigüenza, which was quite in keeping with the practice of that day, he appointed Ximenez his vicar-general at Sigüenza and intrusted him with the complete administration of his diocese.

However, it was not the desire of Ximenez to devote his time to secular affairs and, although he discharged his duties so satisfactorily as to receive the acclaim of all others concerned, he developed a strong aversion to his new work, which, he thought, bound him so closely to the world that he despised. Of him it was said that while "he could please all others, himself he could not please."<sup>1</sup> He longed for that seclusion and quietness that would furnish him with a greater opportunity for study and meditation and, notwithstanding the protests of his friends, he resigned all his benefices in their favor and entered the Convent of San Juan de los Reyes, which had recently been established at Toledo by the Catholic Kings in fulfillment of a vow. Ximenez chose it because it belonged to the Observantines of the Franciscan Order, the strictest of all monastic orders.<sup>2</sup> This was in

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, loc. cit. Vallejo is evidently mistaken when he states it was at Salceda. The historian Gonzaga, "De Origine Seraph, Religionis Franciscanorum," Rome, 1587, p. 605, declares that Ximenez was the first Franciscan to profess at San Juan. So, too, Navarro Rodrigo, p. 8. (Quoted by Porreño, p. 14.)

the autumn of the year 1484.<sup>1</sup> A year later, when he had finished his novitiate, he changed his baptismal name Gonzalo to his adopted one Francisco, in honor of the founder of his order.<sup>2</sup>

But neither here was he able to fulfill his ambition for no sooner had he become established in that convent than news of his sanctity and sympathetic understanding was spread abroad and to his confessional were attracted men and women of all stations of life who were seeking his counsel and guidance. It was not long before Ximenez found himself in that same whirl of activity he had sought to escape. He accordingly entreated his superiors to send him elsewhere and was transferred to the convent of Our Lady of Castañar, so called from its situation amid a thick forest of chestnut trees. Here he spent his days and nights amid prayer and meditation, sustaining life, as did the anchorites of old, with whatever food the woods might furnish him. For a shelter he built himself a little hut that was scarcely large enough to hold him.<sup>3</sup> Here he spent, in a kind of spiritual oasis, the most pleasant days of his life, and many times in after years, when he was surrounded by the pomp and splendour of the Castillian court and

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, vol. i, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup>Vallejo, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Alcolea, p. 13. "so narrow that it would be ill-adapted for a sepulchre."

was harassed by the multitude of details and intrigues, would he look back longingly to these years that he had spent in such perfect solitude and contentment.<sup>1</sup>

But again at the Castañar was he denied the peaceful contemplative life he so earnestly sought as he was frequently called to Toledo by his superiors who wished to consult with him on matters pertaining to the order. At his own request, therefore, he was transferred to the convent of Salceda, more distantly situated from Toledo than the Castañar.<sup>2</sup> Here he continued to practice the same austerities that he had elsewhere begun but to a greater degree.<sup>3</sup> Three years later, the religious of the province, meeting at Ubeda, un-animously elected him guardian of his convent and, greatly against his will, he was again compelled to assume administrative duties.

It was while he was in the midst of this new work that

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<sup>1</sup> Gomez, fol. 4.

<sup>2</sup> He was not transferred by his superiors, as most biographers state, but at his own request. The religious at the Castañar had the rare privilege of not being subject to transfer to another convent if against their will. Retana, vol. i, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Gomez, fol. 4. According to Quintanilla, "Apuntes para la beatificacion de Cisneros," Ximenez would spend days at a time on his knees, with a rapturous expression and immobile as a statue, all his senses having been deadened. His continued fastings gave him more of an appearance of a corpse than of a human being.

an event occurred of extraordinary import to Ximenez and the history of Spain. Through the elevating of Fernando de Talavera to the newly established See of Granada, the office of confessor to the Queen had become vacant. Through the instrumentality of Cardinal Mendoza, Ximenez was appointed to this office and, in his new capacity, he soon made his influence felt both in the ecclesiastical and political life of Spain. It was then that he began to formulate that ecclesiastical policy that was destined to stir the entire Spanish Church. It is this policy that we shall now survey.



## C H A P T E R   O N E

### THE PUBLIC LIFE OF XIMENEZ BEGINS - HE BECOMES CONFESSOR TO THE QUEEN - MONASTIC REFORMS

The year 1492 was without doubt the greatest in Spanish history and one of the most memorable in modern times. On the second of January, with the fall of Granada, was brought to a close a struggle that had endured for eight centuries; ten months later, an unknown but intrepid navigator, Columbus by name, sailed uncharted seas to discover a new world and claim it for the banner of Spain. Of scarcely less significance to the history of that nation was the unexpected appearance on the horizon of Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros who was suddenly thrust into public life. All three of these events were made possible largely by the ascendancy of queen Isabella to the Castillian throne and by her marriage to Ferdinand of Aragon.

Mention has already been made of the distressing conditions that prevailed in Spain during the fifteenth century and which had been intensified, to quite a large degree, by the unhappy reigns of many of the rulers themselves who, either because of incompetency or profligacy, were powerless to make them different. The only hope of restoring to Spain the peace and glory which she once had, and which was for

her only a fond dream not likely to find its fulfillment, was the ascendancy of vigorous leaders to the thrones of Castile and Aragon. Two such leaders were Ferdinand and Isabella.

At the time that Isabella and Ferdinand were born, however, the probabilities that they would become the rulers of Castile and Aragon were most remote as neither of them was the heir-apparent. There was every reason to believe that Ferdinand's elder brother, Carlos, the prince of Viana, would become the monarch of Aragon. His splendid physique, his unusual charm and marked ability, and the popularity that he enjoyed in many quarters, gave promise that his would be a felicitous and lengthy reign. But he died suddenly, in the prime of his life, because of a fever that had seized him, or, as some historians assert, because of some disorder that arose from poison that was administered him. As he was unmarried, he died without succession. This made Ferdinand the heir-apparent of the Aragonese monarchy, and a fortnight later, October 6, 1461, the oath of allegiance was tendered him when he was only ten years of age.

Isabella's probabilities of ascending the throne of Castile were even more remote. Henry IV, her half-brother by the marriage of her father, John II, to Mary of Aragon, was then King of Castile. Before Isabella could be crowned, it was necessary that the King and his brother, Alonso, should be removed by death and that Joanna, "la Beltraneja", the possible daughter of Henry and heir-presumptive, should officially be declared unqualified to succeed to the throne.

Just as remote as was their being crowned, was the likelihood of their being married even though Isabella had been betrothed to Ferdinand when she was only six years of age. Political complications arose shortly thereafter and the engagement was therefore broken. Before she had reached the age of ten, her hand was sought by Carlos, Ferdinand's brother. After his death, two years later, her brother, King Henry, made an attempt to betroth her to the king of Portugal but was blocked in his purpose by Isabella herself who was already showing those marks of keen discernment that characterized her in later years. Meanwhile, the unfortunate event at Avila occurred, to which mention has already been made, whereby Henry was declared no longer to be sovereign of Castile, and Alonso, his younger brother was enthroned in his stead. There then followed the singular spectacle of two monarchs presiding over the same nation, each surrounded by his respective court, each purportedly administering the laws, and each demanding undivided fealty from the same people. In an attempt to enlist the favor of powerful Archbishop Carrillo, and through him many of the powerful insurgents, King Henry acquiesced to the plan of marrying Isabella to Don Pedro Giron, grand master of the order of Calatrava, nephew of Carrillo, and brother of the Marquis of Villana, one of the leading factious noblemen. But Isabella was filled with grief and resentment at the thought of being sacrificed to compensate for her brother's stupidity and weakness, especially, since Don Pedro was a notoriously depraved

character whose life was stained with most of the licentious vices of the day. Happily she was not required to pay the anticipated price as the grand master was seized with an acute illness, as he journeyed to Madrid to be married, which terminated in his death.

Following the death of her brother Alonso, two years later, Isabella sought to withdraw from the world and retired to a monastery near Avila whither immediately went Carrillo who, in behalf of the insurgents, requested her to let them proclaim her ruler in Alonso's stead. But she emphatically refused to become identified with those scheming malcontents and suggested instead that a reconciliation between both factions should be attempted to which she would give her hearty co-operation. An interview between Henry and Isabella was therefore arranged and they both met, with their respective courtiers, at a place called Toros de Guisando, in New Castile. As a result of the interview, a treaty was negotiated whereby the claim of Beltraneja was discredited and Isabella was proclaimed heir to the throne.

It now became apparent that a marriage with Isabella was more than ever desirable and the designing eyes of more than one foreign prince were turned in her direction. Among these was one of the brothers of Edward IV, of England, possibly, Richard, Duke of Glouster.<sup>1</sup> Another of her suitors

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<sup>1</sup> Prescott, p. 94, especially note 2.

was the Duke of Guienne, brother of Louis XI, King of France. But the person whom she regarded with greatest favor was her kinsman, Ferdinand of Aragon who, despite his youth - he was but eighteen, she a year older - had a maturity of judgment far above his years.

The favorable advantages that were to be derived from such a marriage were apparent to all. The union of Castile with Aragon would assure the final unification of all Spain and would also enable her to occupy a ranking place among the European powers. But there was one faction, at least, to whom such a marriage was distasteful. It was the one led by the powerful and influential Marquis of Villena, who was fearful that as a result of such a union, he would be required to surrender the greater part of his marquisate which once had belonged to Aragon but which had been appropriated by King John II, of Castile, following his marriage to Mary of Aragon. Villena, consequently, sought to prevent Isabella's marriage to Ferdinand by reviving the former pretensions of Alfonso, King of Portugal, and, to make his scheme the more effectual, by suggesting furthermore, that King Henry's daughter, Joanna, should be united to the son and heir of the Portuguese sovereign.

According to the treaty of Toros, however, it had been agreed that Isabella should not be forced to marry against her will nor that she should marry without Henry's consent. When news of what Henry and Villena were plotting came to Isabella's ears, she promptly became greatly incensed. She

regarded her brother's action as a flagrant violation of the treaty that had been made and declared it to be therefore void, with her consequent release from it. Being now free to marry Ferdinand, she opened negotiations with his father, John II, of Aragon, who was also eager to bring about a union between the two kingdoms. The necessary marriage articles were signed on the 7th of January, 1469, and ten months later, after a dramatic and dangerous journey through hostile territory, Ferdinand arrived at Valladolid where, on the 19th of October, he was publicly married to Isabella, without her having obtained the consent of her brother.

Though King Henry maintained that Isabella had violated the treaty of Toros by marrying without his consent, and had, thereby, forfeited all legal rights to the throne, the people and the Cortes upheld her contentions. Consequently, when King Henry died of an incurable disease, on the 11th of September, 1474, Isabella was immediately proclaimed Queen. Two days later at Segovia, the oath of allegiance was tendered her and she, in turn, swore to maintain inviolate the liberties of the nation. Her long and glorious reign in Castile had begun and, with the death of Ferdinand's father, in 1479, the long anticipated union between Castile and Aragon was becoming an established fact.

From her earliest youth, Isabella had given evidence of unusual piety, a trait that had accompanied her throughout her life and had influenced her entire administration. It was quite natural, therefore, that, in keeping with the

views of the day, she should view with abhorrence the presence of the Moorish Kingdom in Southern Spain and should long for the time, when, Granada being conquered, the Peninsula would be free from the hated infidel's presence and baneful influence. Consequently, during her reign the War with the Moors was revived with greater intensity and, despite several reverses, was finally brought to a successful termination, January 2, 1492, by Boabdil's surrender of Granada. With a magnanimity, which later events disproved, Isabella generously permitted any Moors who so desired to remain in Granada and granted them besides numerous privileges and immunities.<sup>1</sup>

One of the first steps taken by Ferdinand and Isabella, following the collapse of the Moorish Kingdom, was to establish at Granada an archiepiscopal see for the purpose not only of giving spiritual guidance to the Christians who might establish themselves there, but also to attempt the conversion of the Mohammedans. The dignity of Archbishop was conferred upon Hernando de Talavera, then Bishop of Avila and Confessor to the Queen, who was noted for his piety and learning and for his kind and beneficent nature.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Later on we shall have occasion to examine the treaty of Granada at greater length.

<sup>2</sup> An indication of his character is to be found in his act in refusing an increased emolument, to correspond with his exalted position, despite the wishes of the sovereign.

By the transfer of Talavera to the see of Granada, the office of Queen's confessor became vacant. Isabella, desirous of finding as soon as possible a successor to Talavera, sought the counsel of Cardinal Mendoza who, because of the Queen's tendency to consult with her confessor on administrative as well as spiritual matters, well knew the importance of selecting a man of understanding and integrity. For this important office, Mendoza unqualifiedly recommended his beloved friend Ximenez, of whom he had not lost sight since their meeting at Sigüenza. Indeed, his recommendation was so emphatic, that Isabella requested an immediate interview with the then unknown friar.<sup>1</sup>

On the pretext of urgent ecclesiastical business, Mendoza summoned Ximenez to Valladolid where the court was then residing. Ximenez, not wanting to displease his former protector, immediately, though quite reluctantly, left his convent at Salceda and journeyed to Valladolid wholly unaware of what was about to occur. After he had concluded his business with the Cardinal and was about to return to Salceda, he unexpectedly found himself in the presence of the Queen who engaged him in conversation in an attempt to sound him out. Contrary to what might have been expected, Ximenez did not betray the least embarrassment in finding himself in the royal presence. Instead, he gave evidence of a natural dignity wholly lacking in affectation or confusion to which the

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 5 and 6.



queen was attracted at once. Moreover, when she perceived the piety and discretion with which he answered her many questions, she began to share Mendoza's high opinion of him. Nevertheless, she felt that an office of such importance should not be filled hastily but only after mature deliberation. She, accordingly, in the days that followed, sought many opportunities of meeting with him to determine his opinion on many subjects of gravity and, "seeing that to all he replied with such complete satisfaction...., she fully understood that he was whom God had destined as the keeper of her soul."<sup>1</sup>

After a few days, Ximenez found himself again in the presence of the queen who this time invited him to become her confessor. Greatly surprised by the wholly unexpected turn of events, he immediately began to raise all kinds of objections, pleading principally his own unworthiness and his great desire for solitude. Isabella, however, insisted on his accepting the office on the grounds "that if God once called you to the desert, He now calls you to the Court: and do not forget that God is to be obeyed at all times and in all places..."<sup>2</sup> Ximenez finally consented to be her confessor but only under certain conditions, namely, "that he should not be obliged to reside at the Court but should be permitted to do so in the Convent of his Order nearest to

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<sup>1</sup>ibid.

<sup>2</sup>ibid.

it; that when he was required to attend Court to confess the Queen, he should travel afoot, and with one companion. He was not to receive any emolument whatsoever, and, in the event that there should be no convent of his Order nearby, he was to be permitted to beg for his bread. Finally, he was not to be consulted regarding affairs of state."<sup>1</sup> The Queen was greatly pleased by these conditions, but wisely refrained from passing judgment on them, anticipating, perhaps, that the day would come when Ximenez himself would discover how ill-advised their observance would be.

The presence of Ximenez was soon made manifest at the Court. It was impossible that a person who exhibited such a marked contrast with those who surrounded him should go about unnoticed. In several of his letters, Peter Martyr, who was then residing at the Court, mentions Ximenez and the impression he made on the courtiers. He refers to him as "a learned man, of singular piety and great scholarship. A St. Augustine in doctrine, a St. Jerome in austerity of life, and a St. Ambrose in generosity and zeal."<sup>2</sup> All others who came in contact with him were as deeply impressed by the piety, the profound learning, and the keen understanding of this hitherto unknown monk who had suddenly become one of them.<sup>3</sup> Even those who had no direct dealings with him could

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<sup>1</sup>Porreño, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup>Peter Martyr, letter to the Count of Tendilla.

<sup>3</sup>Peter Martyr, letter 108, from Alvarez, secretary of King Ferdinand.

not be insensible to his presence as, with pallid and gaunt countenance and a wasted frame clad in the rough garb of the Franciscan Order, he made his way among the well-groomed courtiers that surrounded him.

But no less was his presence soon felt in the political life of the nation. Although he had sought to have no part in administrative affairs, he soon discovered that he could not be free from them as the Queen, almost as soon as he had become her confessor, had sought his advice on matters pertaining to the state and, on ascertaining his keen insight on political questions and his consistently wise counsels, soon adopted the policy of not making any major decision without first having sought his opinion.

Two years after, he was unanimously elected provincial of Old and New Castile, by the chapter of the Franciscan Order meeting near Burgos, to succeed Juan de Tolosa, for the usual three year term.<sup>1</sup> Although still the guardian of Salceda, Ximenez had been unable to be present at Burgos and there were many who expressed the opinion that, in view of his modesty, he would refuse the honor they had bestowed upon him. Great was their surprise, therefore, when he not only accepted the office but he did so with an alacrity that was wholly unexpected.<sup>2</sup> Gomez conjectures that his reason for doing so was either that he saw here the much sought

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 6, Vallejo, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, loc. cit., Porreño, p. 21.

after excuse for absenting himself from court life or, perhaps, that he would thereby be enabled to institute a greatly needed reform in the monastic orders as, by this office, he had been placed at the head of their many religious establishments.<sup>1</sup>

Among the many responsibilities that devolved upon the provincial was the visitation of the convents of the order for the purpose of counseling with their guardians and of rectifying apparent abuses. In keeping with the rules of his Order, he travelled in the simplest manner, mostly afoot, and supported himself by begging alms. He took with him on his journeys, as his assistant and secretary, a young student for the priesthood, by the name of Francisco Ruiz, who was then about seventeen or eighteen years of age<sup>2</sup> and who later became one of the closest confidants of Ximenez and was elevated by him to the bishoprics of Ciudad Rodrigo and Avila.<sup>3</sup>

The ecclesiastical province of Castile was very extensive, spreading itself over half of Spain. It included the four "custodia" of Toledo, Seville, Santoyo, and Santa Maria de los Menores, and more or less corresponded geograph-

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<sup>1</sup>ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Vallejo, p. 7, tells the anecdote that when on one occasion, Ximenez, who was notoriously a poor beggar, returned at meal-time empty handed, Ruiz gently chided him, saying, "Reverend Father, you will be the cause of our starvation yet. God gives to each of us his particular talent. You meditate and pray for me while I go and beg bread for you."

<sup>3</sup>Retana, vol. i, p. 114.

ically with the major part of Old Castile, all of new Castile, Andalucia, Albacete, and Murcia.<sup>1</sup> As soon as Ximenez was elected provincial, he set forth on his duty of visiting the many Franciscan convents within this territory. Notwithstanding its vastness and that he travelled mostly afoot, in an amazingly brief time he traversed the entire province reaching as far south as Gibraltar. Here he was overtaken by a message from Queen Isabella summoning him post haste to the court as the sovereigns wished to discuss with him the reform of the monastic orders which, in the meanwhile, they had been contemplating.<sup>2</sup>

Mention has already been made of the luxurious and licentious living of many of the ecclesiastics which had been a scandal of long standing in the church. A great number of the religious had so prostituted their position of prestige and influence that in most cases it had become only an instrument for the promotion of their base and worldly ambitions rather than for the fostering of Christian doctrine and living. Even monastic orders had succumbed to this evil and had so deviated from the way prescribed by their founders that they were living lives of luxury and ease.

Most writers of the period are agreed in attributing the corruption among monastic orders to the great plague that raged throughout Spain and all of Europe during the

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, loc. cit, and p. 115.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 7.

middle of the XIV Century depopulating entire districts and taking its toll also from the convents. As a result, their ranks had been so depleted that in order to fill them superiors were obliged to admit as novitiates persons who were wholly unfit for the monastic life.<sup>1</sup> The unbridled life of the secular clergy as well as the corruption of the papacy and of the royalty, may have been further contributing causes. And one writer, at least, has suggested that Spain's many wars had so decimated her of her choicest men that only weaklings were left with which to fill the monasteries.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever may have been the reasons, the fact remained that most monastic orders, with few exceptions, had completely ignored their vow of poverty. Particularly was this true of mendicant orders who had converted their cells into magnificent apartments and enjoyed the extravagant life that only immense wealth could provide.

Chief offenders in this respect were the Franciscans who had become so far removed from St. Francis' interdiction of possessions of any description, that they owned vast properties in town and country, and lived in stately edifices, magnificently furnished, in a manner unsurpassed by other monastic orders.

The Franciscans were divided into two groups, "Observantines," who endeavored to live according to the Rule of

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<sup>1</sup>Robles. pp. 65-67; Porreño, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup>Porreño, p. 27.

the Order, and the "Conventuals," who disregarded the rigid standards set up by St. Francis. This division had had its inception almost as soon as the Order was founded. As early as 1223 brother Elias, a native of Cortona, and vicar-general of the Franciscans, began to hint that the rule prescribed by their founder was a yoke which neither they nor their successors could bear; but he was silenced by the authority of St. Francis. After the death of St. Francis, however, Elias was more successful in gaining proselytes to his opinion,<sup>1</sup> so that by the close of the fifteenth century he had won so many disciples that only four provinces in Spain had Observantine convents, with but a small number of religious attached to them, while the rest were all Conventuals. It will be remembered that Ximenez had joined the Observantines. Of the nuns, without exception, all were Conventuals with none of them making so much as a pretense at observing the Rule.<sup>2</sup>

The condition among the other orders was not quite so lamentable. Many of them had previously instituted their own reform with a fair measure of success. The Cistercians were the first to purge themselves of their most notorious members whose conduct was so unbecoming as to bring their order into disrepute. Aided by the King of Castile and by the

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<sup>1</sup> Quintanilla, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

authority granted them by Popes Martin V and Eugene VI, they established in Toledo the monastery Mt. Zion which became the center of the reform; convents which refused to conform were closed and their abbots deposed.<sup>1</sup> A similar cleansing took place in the Order of St. Jerome whither had gone many Jewish converts, in order to escape the rigors of the Inquisition, but who were wholly lacking in a religious experience. Being guilty of participating in a number of scandalous practices, they precipitated an investigation by the Inquisition and several of their friars were severely punished, some of them by death.<sup>2</sup> The Order that needed reforming the least was the Carthusian which was, on the whole, faithful to its Rule.

Apparently only the Franciscans were incorrigible as they had steadfastly opposed every attempt that had been made to correct their many flagrant abuses. In the year 1396, a century before Ximenez began his reform, Fray Pedro de Villacreces, who won both pontifical and royal recognition for his labours, endeavored to reform the evils of his fraternity by establishing several Observantine convents. Among these were La Salceda, of which Ximenez was one of its honored members, La Aguilera, where later the reformer Santoyo was a monk, La Cabrera, within whose

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, vol. i, pp. 120-21.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., pp. 121, 22.



walls is to be found the burial place of the father of Ximenez, and El Abrojo, all of which were noted for the strictness of their discipline.<sup>1</sup> One of the disciples of Villacreces, who was filled with his master's spirit and reforming ardor, was Fray Pedro Regalado who later became the vicar of La Aguilera, so that with the succession of Villacreces, Santoyo, and Regalado, the convent La Aguilera became the center of reform.

Notwithstanding the serious attempts at reform which the Observantines had made, their efforts were largely ineffectual as numerically they were far inferior to the Conventuals. Indeed, even though their number had been greater, every attempt to reform would have been as stubbornly resisted and as certain to die an abortive death as the Conventuals counted among their members a great number of persons of wealth and influence.<sup>2</sup>

Hence, it becomes readily apparent that Ximenez, in view of the strictness of life that he himself observed, was greatly disappointed at the distressingly lax conditions he noted among his own brethren and was greatly pleased to learn of the sovereign's desire to purify the monastic orders.

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., pp. 124-5.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., p. 126, records several instances in which Conventuals brazenly persecuted Observantines, often depriving them of the privilege of begging or being sheltered in their accustomed places. At times this persecution became so violent that it necessitated royal and papal intervention to stop it.

At the instance of Isabella, Pope Alexander VI had issued a brief, dated March 27, 1493, by which the sovereigns were authorized to appoint "prelates or other persons of integrity....to intervene in monasteries of nuns and houses of any order existing in their dominions....with powers to visit and reform not only the members but also the heads" and to compel them to obey their rules and constitutions, "offering the sovereigns, if necessary, a special bull to give added powers to the reformers."<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding this brief was in their possession, the sovereigns held in abeyance the authority that was granted them by it, until February 13, 1495, when they commissioned Ximenez as Reformer, "in whose wisdom, sagacity, religion, and integrity they could trust".<sup>2</sup> In the meanwhile (1493), they had requested of the pope the proper authority to reform all the convents, both male and female, in their dominions. This request was finally granted them and, on the arrival of the desired bull, toward the close of 1494, Isabella promptly ordered Ximenez' immediate return from Gibraltar.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Archivo Ibero-Americano, vol ii, 1914, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup>ibid.

<sup>3</sup>The whereabouts of this bull is at present unknown. Although La Fuente declared it to have been lodged in the Archivo Complutense no trace of it has been found there. Doubtless "interested" persons have seen to its disappearance. There can be no question, however, that it existed as neither Isabella nor Ximenez would have dared engage in such a widespread enterprise without papal authority. Furthermore, certain other bulls, chiefly one issued by Julian II, allude to it. Retana, vol. i, pp. 128-29.

Backed by both pontifical and royal authority, Ximenez immediately set forth with his characteristic vigor to effect the much needed reform. He encountered but little opposition among the Dominicans, Augustines, and Carmelites. Their Rule had granted them the privilege of owning property provided it was held in common; hence, whatever estates they possessed were theirs by right. The scattered instances wherein members owned private property were easily remedied as they had already incurred the envious displeasure of the other members of the convents. For the most part, the reforms of Ximenez among these orders had to do with the enforcement of the existing rules of chastity and their relation to laymen, and the effecting of a few changes dealing with the enlargement of choirs, the modification of living quarters to conform to the rule, and certain changes in attire.<sup>1</sup>

His experience with his own brethren was not so happy as they offered the most stubborn resistance to his demands that they conform to the standards of their Order. His method in dealing with them, largely the same as he used with others, is well worth noting. Upon his arrival at a convent, he would call the brethren together and summarily announce to them his purpose in coming, the contents of the papal bull, and the extent of his commission. Following this, he would preach a fervent sermon in which he sketched the life

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<sup>1</sup>Quintanilla, p. 23.

of the Order's founder, calling particular attention to the saintliness of his life; he would outline the rules given by which the members agreed to be governed; he would call their attention to how far they had departed from their observance of them to the great scandal of the Church and of Almighty God; he would offer them an opportunity to mend their ways and to conform to the Rule; and, finally, he would very definitely announce that unless they changed their manner of living voluntarily, they would be forced to do so.

His sermon completed, he would cause all private possessions, both those which had been voluntarily surrendered and those which had been confiscated, to be placed in a pile and "would burn them as detestable Korans of loose living." This done, he next made a careful inventory of all properties held in common and, by virtue of his pontifical authority, would adjudicate their revenues to impoverished convents or to hospitals lacking in funds. He caused the religious to exchange their expensive garments for the humbler and coarser robe worn by the Observantines; he removed from their cells all furnishings and other articles which he considered superfluous; and enforced the rigid observance of the Order's Rule.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Quintanilla, p. 22; also "Crónica Franciscana", quoted by Coloma, pp. 240-43.

Ximenez began his ambitious reforms in his own province of Castile since, as its provincial, he had a two-fold interest in it. It was altogether inevitable that such a project should arouse a certain amount of opposition. He encountered the least opposition in the Custodia of Seville where all convents made a gratifying response excepting those of Gibraltar, Jaen, and Alcala de Guadaira. These three became the last haven for the recalcitrant monks.<sup>1</sup> But others, especially those of Seville, Cordoba, Jerez, and Baeza, submitted to the Observantine rule the very same year that the reform was instituted.<sup>2</sup> In fact, some years previously, an attempt was made to reform the convent at Cordoba but failed because of the absence of a vigorous leadership.<sup>3</sup> As soon as the Conventuals at Jerez had been apprised of the reform, of their own accord, they began negotiations with their Observantine brethren, who were poorly housed in a greatly deteriorated building nearby, and conveyed to them, part and parcel, their magnificent dwellings, their lands, and all other possessions, to be reformed and devoted to whatever use deemed by them advisable.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Archivo Ibero-Americano, vol. ii, 1914, pp. 23-24.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>3</sup>op. cit., pp. 5-19.

<sup>4</sup>Archivo Ibero-Americano, vol. ii, 1915, p. 220.

Notwithstanding this relatively small opposition that Ximenez met among the religious of Seville, his task became more difficult and greatly complicated when he began to dispose of the revenues that accrued to the convents. Many of these were derived from tombs and mortuary chapels in the churches of the Conventuals which had been richly endowed by some of the leading families of the nobility. Since the Observantines that had been introduced into the convents were not permitted to receive any compensation for their services, many of the nobles feared that masses and prayers in behalf of their ancestors would be discontinued, notwithstanding that Ximenez had conveyed those revenues to the secular clergy who had been bound to fulfill the conditions of the foundation. Nevertheless, innumerable litigations ensued which hampered greatly the progress of the reformer. Revenues which had not been specifically devoted to the foregoing objects, were conveyed to eleemosynary and other institutions. In keeping with this policy, he endeavored to convert the elegant convent of San Francisco, at Sevilla, into a Franciscan University and for its support he proposed to use the combined income of all the convents of Andalucia. Although he had secured the necessary papal and royal sanction for his project, its consummation was delayed by a series of obstacles. Meanwhile, the University of Sevilla had been established and the proposal of



Ximenez was finally dropped.<sup>1</sup>

The fortune of the reformation elsewhere was not such a happy one. In Talavera the opposition of the Conventuals was so stubborn that Ximenez was compelled to eject them corporeally from their monastery and transferred all their property and possessions to the parochial chapter.<sup>2</sup> Similar resistance was offered at Tarazona, where Ximenez was consecrated archbishop; at Calatayud, where he was compelled to excommunicate several of the most rebellious; and at Salamanca, where the friars, freely mixing with the lewd women of the town, staged a scandalous riot on hearing that they had to make the choice between being reformed and being expelled.<sup>3</sup> The most scandalous conduct, however, was beheld at Toledo where, in the presence of Ximenez himself, with uplifted crucifix before them, the monks left the city in solemn procession as they sang the psalm, "In exitu Israel de Aegypto, Domus Jacob de populo barbaro."<sup>4</sup>

While in the midst of the reformation, Ximenez had been elevated to the dignity of Archbishop of Toledo.

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, vol. i. pp. 133-138, gives a very detailed account of this project.

<sup>2</sup>Retana, p. 139.

<sup>3</sup>ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Porreño, p. 26.

Despite the additional burdens that befell him, he retained the office of provincial<sup>1</sup> and continued with his program of cleansing the monastic orders. He soon became aware that he would require all his increased powers as the angered monks who had been evicted from their convents had won the attention and favor of the higher officers of the Franciscan Order whose interests had been precipitated by the activity of Lorenzo Vaca, abbot of the monastery of the Holy Spirit, at Segovia. By virtue of certain papal briefs that he had or purported to have had, Vaca announced that he was empowered to restore to the convent of the Holy Spirit anyone who, having been evicted, desired to return thither.<sup>2</sup> A great number of monks availed themselves of this offered privilege, and Ximenez, fearing that his labors would be greatly imperiled by the influence of Vaca, dispatched a deputation of the Court with full powers to seize and imprison the Abbott. The mission was faithfully carried out but Vaca succeeded in escaping and made his way to Rome where he courted and won the favor of the "all powerful Cardinal Ascanio Sforza"<sup>3</sup> with whom he had already had considerable correspondence, and finally convinced him that the Spanish reformer was a violent and capricious monk who vented

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol 7.

<sup>2</sup>ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Pastor, vol. v, p. 402.



his ire on saintly and religious Observantines.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of Vaca's strong appeal, and possibly because it had been fittingly re-inforced by a judicious bribe - which even the Roman court was not above giving or receiving,<sup>2</sup> Peter Martyr, because he knew the temper of the Spanish people and particularly of Ximenez, was commissioned to interview the latter and seek clemency from him in behalf of Vaca and his associates. But no sooner was Ximenez acquainted with the object of Martyr's visit, than he indignantly bade him to desist from his purpose and retire<sup>3</sup> who, on doing so, immediately informed Cardinal Sforza as to the true nature of the Reform.

The greatest opposition that the Reform faced, however, was at the hands of the highest officers of the Franciscan Order whose blows were well-nigh fatal. During the years of Ximenez's greatest activity, Fray Francisco Nanni and Gil Delphino were generals of the Order. The former ruled from the year 1475 to the year 1499; because of his powerful apology for the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception he was given the sobriquet Samson, by Pope Sixtus. The latter was his vicar during the year 1499, and succeeded him as general the following year, a position that he held until he was deposed

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol 8.

<sup>2</sup>Retana, vol. i., p. 141, quoting Holzapfel, "Manuale Hist. Ordinis Fr. Minorum," Section 27, who, in the same place, also advances the opinion that Ximenes was not above resorting to bribery to obtain his briefs.

<sup>3</sup>Gomez, fol. 8.

in 1506. Both of them were Conventuals and while they were favorably disposed toward the Observantines, they were the foes of the Spanish reforms.<sup>1</sup>

When General Nanni, or Samson as he is better known to history, became aware of the widespread disaffection that had been aroused among the Spanish Franciscans, on his own initiative he sent several of his deputies, ostensibly to aid Ximenez in his reforms but with the real purpose of trying to curb that prelate and calm the hostility that he had engendered. Unfortunately their ideas of reform did not coincide with those of Ximenez for, unlike him, they condoned the possession of common properties. Hence, very shortly they found themselves being completely ignored by Ximenez who continued his work independently of them much to their embarrassment and chagrin.

Smarting under the manifest effrontery of his provincial, and aided by the bishop of Oporto, who was also Cardinal of Portugal and vice-protector of the Franciscans, General Samson obtained from Pope Alexander a brief that threatened to destroy all that had been so far accomplished. By that brief, dated the 9th of November, 1496, the Catholic sovereigns were ordered to desist in the prosecution of the reform and to drop all matters connected with it until such time as the papal court had determined what course to pursue in the affair.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, vol i, pp. 142-43

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 10.

When the Queen heard of the issuance of the brief, news of which preceded its arrival in Spain, she became greatly disheartened as she thought it meant the unsuccessful termination of a noble enterprise. When the disgruntled Conventuals also learned of the brief, which they had almost as quickly as the Queen, they greatly rejoiced as they hoped that it presaged a speedy return to their former lax manner of living and many suggested public demonstrations of their jubilation but were deterred by their fear of the Archbishop. If Ximenez shared the Queen's discouragement he did not betray it. Instead, he immediately sent powerful representations to Rome that were so successful that the Pope issued a new brief by which Ximenez was permitted to continue the reform but only under his own personal supervision or that of the bishop of Jaen or of Catanea, but none of whom could, in any case, delegate their authority to others. Since these restrictions greatly hampered the progress of the reform, Ximenez made new representations to the Pope who, in the end, authorized him to proceed as he had heretofore.

Greatly encouraged by such a signal victory, Isabella and Ximenez continued their scheme with renewed vigor and greater intensity, being anxious to complete their task before any further interruptions might emanate from Rome. Meanwhile about one thousand Conventuals, possibly fearing reprisals from the thoroughly aroused archbishop, emigrated to North Africa where they embraced Mohammedanism and gave themselves

up to the gratification of their basest passions.<sup>1</sup>

The fears of sovereign and archbishop were well founded for shortly, the new general of the Franciscans, Fray Gil Delfino, greatly alarmed by the wholesale emigration of Conventuals, determined to visit Spain and halt what he thought were pernicious persecutions that threatened to destroy the Order.<sup>2</sup> He arrived in Spain possessed by a wild fury and no sooner had he disembarked than he publicly announced that "he would not desist in his efforts until he had returned that exalted personage to his former obscurity and misery."<sup>3</sup> He sought, and easily obtained, an audience with the Queen and, having disposed of the necessary greetings and civilities as quickly as possible, he immediately launched forth into a fiery denunciation of Ximenez and his reform, seemingly with a complete disregard of the high position of the Queen whose audience he had requested. He was amazed, he told Isabella, that she should have elevated to such a high dignity a man who had neither noble ancestry nor a reputation

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<sup>1</sup>Zurita, "Historia del Rey Hernando" lib iii, cap. xv. According to Prescott, p. 442, note, a number of them went to Italy and other Christian countries where the Conventuals were better protected.

<sup>2</sup>According to some authorities (Quintanilla, et al.) it was Samson. Others, (Wadding, et al.) believe it was only a legate of the general. Still others, (Hefele, Holzapfel, Pou y Marti, etc.) hold that it was Delfino. This discrepancy among historians has been caused, no doubt, by the close proximity of this event to the elevation of Delfino to the generalship of the Order.

<sup>3</sup>Gomez, fol. 14.

for learning. What were his qualifications? What peculiar wisdom had he acquired during his short stay at Sigüenza that he was now intrusted by Isabella with the affairs of the Kingdom? What proofs had she of his piety and virtue? How did she know that it was not feigned? All she needed to do was to open her eyes and discover for herself what was apparent to all. Had she not noticed with what ease Ximenez had changed from a life of excessive austerities to one of extreme luxury and pomp? One needed to be with Ximenez only a short time to be convinced of his hypocrisy. His brusqueness and even rudeness of manner, his hard expression and melancholic temperament, were in no wise indications of saintliness. True virtue is humble, is mild and gentle, is calm and serene and joyous. He could not help but think that the Queen's guilelessness had been taken advantage of. Even Ximenez' refusal to accept his present dignity of Archbishop was not so much a proof of his virtue as it was of his shrewdness and cunning. But even so, the Queen still was able to heal the wound she had inflicted on the Church of Toledo. All she needed to do was to deprive that man of the office which he so manifestly was unfit to hold.

With an extraordinary self-control, Isabella heard Delfino to the end and replied by saying, "Father, are you in your right mind and have you been conscious of what it was you were saying? Do you really know to whom you have been speaking?" "Yes," he passionately replied, "I am in my

right mind. And I know full well to whom I have been speaking, to Queen Isabella, just a handful of dust and ashes like myself."<sup>1</sup>

With these words he stalked forth from the audience chamber. But as he did so he was halted by Gonzalo de Cetina, one of the royal secretaries and an Aragonese nobleman who, taking him by his robe, said, "Had you said in Aragon what you have said to the noble Queen of Castile in her own domains, I swear that I would choke you to death with that very same cincture you have tied about you."<sup>2</sup>

Ximenez made no attempt to defend himself nor to refute the charges which had been preferred against him. Instead he observed a discreet silence and dealt with Delfino in such a courteous and solicitous manner and without the slightest trace of resentment, that in the end the Franciscan general was compelled to return to Rome without having accomplished in the least what he had set out to do.<sup>3</sup> Having thus gained what later turned out to be their final victory in their struggle with the opposition, Ximenez and Isabella continued unimpeded with their reform until the last vestige of conventualism was eradicated from Spanish soil.

The reform among the nuns, which had been carried on

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<sup>1</sup>ibid.

<sup>2</sup>La Fuente, "Historia General de España," vol.iii, p.33, note.

<sup>3</sup>Gomez, fol. 15.

simultaneously, did not present so many difficulties. The Queen lent Ximenez valuable assistance in this phase of his work by personally visiting many of the convents, taking needle or distaff with her, and endeavouring both by conversation and example to induce the religious to forsake their frivolous manner of living. As most of the nuns of the Order of St. Claire (Franciscans) were under the jurisdiction of the Conventuals, Ximenez compelled them also either to transfer to the jurisdiction of the Observantines or to withdraw from the order; if they chose the latter alternative, in several instances he offered them a pension. He attempted also to regulate the life of the third order of St. Francis, known in Spain as "Beatas" who, because of the very nature of the order were living wholly unsupervised lives. In contrast to the other orders, the "Beatas" were merely an aggregation of pious women who wore no distinctive garb nor lived in a cloister but only in hermitages, and had no real organization to regulate them. Ximenez, therefore, built them suitable residences with the revenues that had been taken from some of the Conventual monasteries, and compelled them to adopt a uniform dress and to submit to the rule of the Observantines. Finally, he became greatly interested in the Order of the Immaculate Conception which had been just recently founded by a Portuguese "beata", Beatriz de Silva. After her death, dissension among her followers all but killed the order, but Ximenez revived it and granted its members the Franciscan convent at Toledo

which had been vacated by the Conventuals after their rebellion. Under his patronage, several other houses were established, hence, he has been often regarded by the Conceptionists as the second founder of the Order.<sup>1</sup>

In view of the extensive labors of Ximenez and Isabella in behalf of the Monastic Reform, one may be permitted to ask the question: What has been the verdict of posterity; was the reform lasting? Since it does not come within the scope of this study to survey the results of the ecclesiastical policy of Cardinal Ximenez, only the briefest answer is in order. Suffice it to be pointed out that the same history followed this reform that has followed every other one that has been dependent on the application of external force for the observance of a repugnant mode of living. As soon as the iron hand of Ximenez was stilled by death, a great number of Observantines, who were still Conventuals at heart, returned to their former life. A great number of them, however, continued to adhere rigidly to the standard imposed upon them and not a few, in many instances, had thereby become so impoverished as to face real want.<sup>2</sup> Hence many

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, vol. i., pp. 148-50.

<sup>2</sup>"Archivo Ibero-Americano," vol. iv, 1915, pp. 438-39, reveals how greatly impoverished some of the convents had become even before the Cardinal's death. The Convent of San Francisco at Salamanca was so heavily in debt that they had to sell most of their chalices. The Abbess of the Convento Real de Santa Clara, at Toledo, "did not have enough wheat for the month of March and did not know where they could get any as they had not so much as one 'real'".



writers are justified in stating that "whatever piety, discipline, mortification, and purity were observable amongst them in later times must be ascribed to Ximenez."<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless such a great preponderance of them eventually had so deviated from the Franciscan rule that by the year 1545, King Philip II threatened to expel them all from Spain and Pope Pius IV proposed that they should gradually become extinct, by forbidding the reception of novices but later empowered his legate to reduce them to the observance of the rule or to extinguish them altogether, as Philip might prefer.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>  
Hefele, pp. 216-17.

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Lea, "History of Sacerdotal Celibacy," vol. ii, p. 22, note.

C H A P T E R     T W OXIMENEZ IS APPOINTED ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO -  
ACTIVITIES IN HIS DIOCESE - REFORMS

The most exalted position in all of Spain, next to the crown, was occupied by the Archbishop of Toledo, who, by virtue of his office, was also primate of Spain and chancellor of Castile. So immense were his revenues and so numerous his vassals that his power often exceeded that of the King. When Ximenez began his reforms, this position of influence was occupied by Cardinal Mendoza, a prelate who had ever esteemed Ximenez and had been responsible for his appointment as confessor to the Queen. He was a member of one of the most celebrated families of Castile and was the fourth son of the noted marquis of Santillana: because of his rare talents he was placed at the head of a family whose every member displayed unusual capacities and attained positions of great influence. In the unhappy warfare between King Henry IV and his younger brother Alphonso, Mendoza had espoused the cause of the former but when Henry died, he threw the whole weight of his influence, as well as that of his family, to the cause of Queen Isabella and remained faithful unto her until his death. She it was who elevated him to the archiepiscopal see of Toledo when it became vacant through the death of Alonso Carrillo.

In his new position, Mendoza attained an ever increasing intimacy with the sovereigns who had quickly evinced a genuine admiration for his sagacity and integrity and made it a practice of seeking his advice on all questions of great moment. Not once, however, did he abuse this great confidence that they had in him; neither did he use the prestige of his influential position for the furtherance of his own schemes, as so many of his predecessors, chiefly Carrillo, had done. He conscientiously expended his munificent revenues for the benefit of humanity and for the glory of the Church. He displayed a genuine interest in dissipating ignorance and suffering by endowing seats of learning and hospitals for the under-privileged.<sup>1</sup> In his younger days, as we shall have occasion later on to point out, he freely indulged the baser desires of the flesh, a not uncommon experience for the ecclesiastic of those days, but in later years he lived a chaste life that was above reproach.

In 1494 he was seized by a serious and painful illness that confined him to his house for nearly a year before his death.<sup>2</sup> In order to relieve himself of many of the exacting

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<sup>1</sup> The most outstanding of these were the College of Santa Crux at Valladolid and the foundling's hospital, of the same name, at Toledo. Because of his devotion to the Holy Cross, it is said that at his death a white cross of extraordinary magnitude and splendour was seen above his house for the space of more than two hours. Prescott, pp. 431 and 32, note.

<sup>2</sup> His disorder was a painful abcess on the kidney, Prescott, p. 431, note.

cares of state as well as to seek some relief amid the more salubrious climate of his native town, he later repaired to Guadalajara where he spent his last days. When his illness grew steadily worse and took on an alarming aspect, the court removed to Guadalajara as the sovereigns wished to be near their dying minister who had served them so faithfully for two decades. While there they visited him on numerous occasions both to inquire concerning his health and to seek his counsel relative to many vexing problems of church and state.

During one of these interviews, held shortly before his death, he made a number of suggestions which he believed were for the good of the Kingdom. He recommended, first, that the sovereigns make their peace with the King of France at their earliest opportunity and at any price. Unfortunately, this advice was not followed and Spain later paid a greater price in the loss of human life and natural resources.

A second recommendation was in regard to his successor, made at the request of the Queen. In spite of the fact that he himself belonged to the aristocracy, he strongly cautioned Isabella against choosing his successor from the nobility. He pointed out the great dangers that were involved in trusting one with strong family connections with the tremendous power that accompanied such a position, particularly if he were of a factious nature like his predecessor Carrillo, who was able to defy even royal authority. Hence, he

strongly urged that the new Archbishop be chosen from the middle class, a man of genuine piety and virtue, unencumbered by family ties or by obligations to others, and well above personal aspirations. And such a man who, in his estimation, best met all these requirements was none other than "the already illustrious provincial of the Observantines."

A third recommendation that he made was that the sovereigns arrange, if possible, the marriage of their son and heir, the Infante don Juan, with Joanna, la Beltraneja, who by this time had sought seclusion in a convent in Portugal.<sup>1</sup>

A few days later, his condition becoming greatly aggravated, Mendoza passed away amid great pain on the 11th of January, 1495, in his sixty sixth year.

Following the death of Cardinal Mendoza, Isabella was called upon to make one of the most momentous decisions of her long reign. It is yet to be determined whether she had actually resolved to nominate Ximenez to the Arch-Diocese of Toledo but believed it expedient to consider also others at least for appearance's sake, as some authors have suggested,<sup>2</sup> or whether she really harbored some doubts in her mind as to the advisability of selecting her confessor for such an important office. What is clear, however, is that

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 8; Vallejo, pp. 10-10. When the Queen heard this last advice she is reported to have said, "The Cardinal has become delirious; he has already lost his mind." Gomez, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup>Quintanilla, Lib I, cap xvii.

she went to Ximenez to inquire his opinion relative a successor to Mendoza telling him only that she had been advised not to choose him from the nobility. Ximenez, who was unaware of the recommendation made in his behalf by the deceased Cardinal, believed it would be most inexpedient to follow the latter's counsel in this respect. He expressed the opinion that such an exalted position should unquestionably be occupied by one of the aristocracy, in keeping with the tradition that had become an integral part of Spanish policy, particularly as there was then little likelihood for the occurrence of any unfortunate experiences such as the crown had faced with Carrillo. And, seeing that the Queen had sought his counsel, he did not hesitate in urging her to nominate to that important office don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Archbishop of Seville and nephew of the Cardinal, who was worthy in his own rights to follow such a celebrated uncle. Moreover, he added, that he was quite convinced that had Mendoza been consulted in this matter previously to his death, he undoubtedly would have concurred in this choice.<sup>1</sup>

Immediately that it was noised abroad that the Queen was considering a successor to Mendoza, a great number of grandees and others began seeking the nomination for such a desirable benefice.<sup>2</sup> Even Ferdinand himself took an untoward interest in the affair notwithstanding that accord-----

<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fols. 8 and 9.

<sup>2</sup>Vallejo, p. 11.

ing to his and Isabella's marriage settlement he was to have no part in the appointment of Castillian prelates.<sup>1</sup> He was most anxious, however, that the archiepiscopal see of Toledo be granted to his illegitimate son, don Alfonso, then twenty-four years of age, who had been Archbishop of Zaragoza since he was six years old. Isabella did not take umbrage at this obvious breach of their marital agreement but merely pointed out that the scandalous and worldly life of Alfonso, more than anything else, forbade his appointment. Nevertheless, Ferdinand continued his entreaties in his son's behalf and only desisted when he discovered that he could move Isabella neither by his flattery nor by his harshness of speech.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, Isabella had been giving her attention to two other possible candidates. One of these was Fray Juan de la Puebla y Sotomayor, a member of the illustrious families of Estuñigas and Belalcazar, who, like Ximenez, had fled from the pressure of the world and had sought seclusion in the monastic life. Fearful, however, lest his learning prove to be insufficient for such an exalted position, the Queen soon dismissed him from her mind. The other candidate was Pedro de Oropesa, an advocate in the court who had resigned from the royal cabinet in order to spend his declining days also in a contemplative life. In

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<sup>1</sup>Vallejo, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 10.

spite of his advancing age, it soon became apparent that of all candidates the Queen was giving him the greatest consideration. Indeed, so certain were many of the official family that he would be selected, that rumors were circulated to the effect that he had already been offered the benefice but had declined it.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding his refusal, according to Gomez, the Queen sent a courier to Rome seeking the papal confirmation of Oropesa's appointment but that shortly thereafter, having repented for not having followed the counsel of Mendoza, she wished for the appointment of her confessor instead. Accordingly, she dispatched another courier to Rome requesting her ambassador there to withhold the appointment of Oropesa and to secure in its place the necessary one for Ximenez.<sup>2</sup> Porreño, however, who is probably better informed on this point because of his access to the records of the College of San Bartolomé, of Salamanca, of which Oropesa was collegiate, merely states "that the Queen wished to nominate Oropesa but that he refused the position owing to his advancing age and frequent indispositions and, pleading also, the permission that their majesties had already granted him to retire from the world for the good of his soul."<sup>3</sup>

Inasmuch, however, as only forty days elapsed between

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, p. 155, quoting, Torres, Lib. I, Cap viii.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 10; Porreño, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup>Porreño, loc. cit.



the death of the Cardinal and the signing of the bull whereby Ximenez was elevated to the archiepiscopal see of Toledo, it is quite obvious that Isabella did not lose much time vacillating between the various candidates. Had she had any misgivings concerning the expediency of appointing her confessor, they were soon dissipated and she finally became convinced of the true worth of Mendoza's judgment. Regardless of her previous attitudes, this much is certain, that she sent her legate Diego de Bonilla<sup>1</sup> to Rome with an urgent message to her ambassador Garcilaso de la Vega, to request from the papal court the confirmation of her appointment of Ximenez. Shortly thereafter the Pope held a consistory and granted the Queen's request. The necessary bulls were issued on the 20th of February, 1495, and dispatched immediately to Madrid, where the court was then in residence, where they arrived at the beginning of Lent.<sup>2</sup>

All historians have described with a faithfulness of detail the dramatic scene that was enacted when the Queen

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<sup>1</sup>Quintanilla, fol. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 10. The account given by Hefele, (p. 36), Coloma, (p. 211, third ed.), and others who quote Vallejo, (p. 12) that the briefs arrived on Maundy Thursday and were presented to Ximenez on Good Friday, is obviously in error. The first Sunday of the Lent of 1495 was March 10th, eighteen days after the signing of the bull which was about the required time to make the journey from Rome to Madrid. It is scarcely credible that the delivery of such an important document would be delayed until Good Friday, practically two months after it was issued. Retana, vol i., p. 156, note.

presented the official documents to her confessor who chanced to be at Madrid at the time of their arrival, having gone thither to confess the Queen in preparation for the Easter season. According to Vallejo,<sup>1</sup> Ximenez had already confessed the Queen and had left the palace for the convent of San Francisco, just outside of Madrid, where he was to meet his companion Ruiz who had been making arrangements for their departure to the more solitary convent of La Esperanza, in Ocaña, where they planned to spend the holy days of Lent in prayer and meditation. But no sooner had Ximenez arrived at San Francisco, however, than he was summoned back to the palace by one of the Queen's chamberlains. Not knowing the reason for the summons but believing that it must be to discuss some little matter that could be settled quickly, he left instructions with Ruiz to have everything in readiness awaiting his return.

Vallejo then continues: "The said provincial, having gone with Castillo (the chamberlain) and come to Her Highness, the Queen said, 'Father, the reason I sent for you was that the post has come from Rome bringing certain letters for you.' Her Highness then took the brief that had been sent by Pope Alexander VI and placed it in his hands for him to read. And he, taking it, began to read, 'Venerabili fratri nostro Francisco Ximenez, electo Toletano.' When the reverend father read this he dropped the brief to the floor;

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<sup>1</sup>Memorial, p. 12.

calmly the Queen picked it up and said, 'Father, if you will grant me the permission I shall open it,' to which the reverend father replied, 'It is all the doings of Her Highness and Her Highness can do with it as she pleases.'"<sup>1</sup> And, without awaiting the permission of the Queen as was his custom, he suddenly departed greatly embarrassed and no little indignant, saying in undertones, "Such utter nonsense could not have been conceived except in the mind of a woman."<sup>2</sup>

Apparently the Queen was not offended by such an unceremonious departure but allowed Ximenez to go in peace hoping, no doubt, that after his first emotions of surprise had subsided he would be more tractable. But in this she was mistaken as he hastily made his way to the convent of San Francisco where he announced to Ruiz that it was imperative for them to leave <sup>at once</sup> for Ocaña and "they left with such haste that they seemed to be fugitives, as indeed they were, from the world and its honors."<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, the Queen impatiently awaited the return of her confessor and when he did not appear, she sent after him two members of the court, don Enrique Enriques, an uncle of King Ferdinand, and don Alvaro de Portugal, president of the royal council, with instructions to use every

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<sup>1</sup>loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 10.

<sup>3</sup>Porreño, pp. 31,32.

means in persuading Ximenez to accept the dignity. By the time they arrived at San Francisco, Ximenez and Ruiz had already departed. Having ascertained however, the route they had taken, the two envoys mounted their horses and set out after them. But so rapidly were Ximenez and his companion travelling that, though afoot, they were not overtaken until they were four leagues distant from Madrid. At once a lively argument ensued. For their part, neither don Alvaro nor don Enrique could understand how any man, if he were in his right mind, could possibly refuse such a desirable and coveted benefice. They appealed to his reason by suggesting the splendid opportunity for service to God that had been offered him; they appealed to his vanity and to his love for power, thinking him to be made of the same clay that they were, by pointing out the practically unlimited revenues that would be at his command; they appealed to his sympathy by reminding him of how deeply his strange behaviour had wounded the Queen. But all to no avail. Finally, they bluntly told him that it was his duty, irrespective of his own wishes in the matter, to obey his superior, the pope.

To all this Ximenez simply replied that the Queen had been greatly mistaken in her judgment; that he was not fitted for the office; and that not all the eloquence in the world could convince him to the contrary. And, as he resumed his journey for Ocaña, he added, that seeing there was nothing to be gained by further discussing the matter,

he respectfully begged their leave to continue on his journey.<sup>1</sup>

When the envoys discovered the futility of any of their arguments, they sought recourse in an official order which the Queen had issued, probably anticipating such a course of action on the part of her confessor, by which Ximenez was commanded to return to the court where he was to remain until the matter had been satisfactorily settled. Therefore, he reluctantly returned to Madrid and though the Queen and others used every device at their disposal in an effort to make him change his mind and accept the office, he remained steadfast in his decision.

After six months had gone by and Ximenez still gave no indication of altering his attitude in the matter, Isabella appealed to Pope Alexander and bade him issue a brief if need be, commanding Ximenez, by virtue of canonical obedience, to accept the dignity to which he had been elevated. The pope gladly acceded to her wishes and thus, says Hefelee, "a very unworthy pope was instrumental in commanding one of the most eminent men of the time to occupy the primatial see of Spain."<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile the court had transferred its residence to Burgos. Ximenez, however, had not accompanied it but remained at Madrid. When Alexander's brief arrived, accord-  
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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, loc.cit., Porreño, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup>Hefelee, p. 38.

ingly, he was ordered to repair immediately to Burgos where he was apprised of the Pope's orders. Since there remained then no alternate course for him to follow but to acquiesce to the wishes of the Queen and of the Pope, he humbly accepted the Archbishop's miter, but as he did so he kissed the hands of the sovereigns, "not because they had elevated him to such a high dignity, which he was so unworthy to occupy and which was so fraught with dangers, but because he was hoping, now that they had done so, they would assist him in bearing the burden they had placed on his shoulders."<sup>1</sup>

With Ximenez' acceptance of the archiepiscopacy, the sovereigns sought means of strengthening their own political position as well as restricting the powers of the new primate of Spain. They accordingly approached the new archbishop, possibly at the instigation of King Ferdinand who never did become reconciled to Ximenez' appointment over his natural son Alfonso, and suggested "that in view of his simplicity of living, and also that of his family, none of whom were grandees and whose wants were also modest, that he retain for himself and his household only those revenues that would be necessary for his comforts and that he transfer to the crown the rights to the balance including all the fortified towns and the prosperous district of Cazorla that were a part of the diocese."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Vallejo, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Vallejo, loc. cit.

But the new archbishop, who immediately sensed the possible reasons for such a suggestion, replied that "if he accepted the office, it was with a complete liberty in ecclesiastical affairs since he would be required to render a strict account unto God of his doings. Hence, he did not propose to let his administration be trammelled by onerous conditions, and that it would be far easier for the sovereigns to return him to the cloister, which, after all, he had so reluctantly left, than to make him yield on that point."<sup>1</sup> And there the matter was dropped.

Ximenez took possession of his diocese the 25th of September, but the pressure of state matters delayed his personal entry into Toledo until almost two years later. When the bulls conveying his appointment reached the cathedral church, they were received with great jubilation by both the chapter and the citizenry. The Te Deum was solemnly sung and prayers offered in the new archbishop's behalf; all church bells throughout the city were rung continuously and at night bonfires were lighted as the entire population of Toledo joined in the festivities celebrating the election of the new prelate.<sup>2</sup> He was impressively consecrated at the church of the Franciscans, in Tarazona, on the octave of the feast of St. Francis, October 11, 1495,

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<sup>1</sup>ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Vallejo, p. 14.

in the presence of both the sovereigns and of the court.<sup>1</sup>

The sincerity of Ximenez in following such an unprecedented course of action in this instance has ever remained a moot question. His Roman Catholic biographers have been able to see in his conduct nothing but laudable humility and piety.<sup>2</sup> Other writers, however, and more particularly those with a pronounced Protestant bias, have been able to see nothing but the insincerity of an ambitious friar who even then was seeking the cardinal's hat and who availed himself of this clever ruse to attain his end.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, there is no good reason to charge him with hypocrisy. He had already entered his sixtieth year "when ambition, though not extinguished, is usually chilled in the human heart."<sup>4</sup> Moreover, his previous life, both before and after he was appointed confessor to Isabella, most clearly demonstrate his growing dislike for the world and public life. Repeatedly had he sought to escape from administrative activities to devote himself more entirely to a contemplative life and, as in other instances, it was the pressure of circumstances rather than his own

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Vallejo, loc. cit., Gomez, fol. 11, Hefele, pp. 38, 39, Dominguez Berrueta, p. 28, Villada, p. 22, Coloma, p. 220 (third ed.), et al.

<sup>3</sup>Lea, History of the Spanish Inquisition, vol. i, p. 205, De Castro, Religious Intolerance in Spain, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup>Prescott, p. 440.



seeking that had elevated him to a position of honor and ecclesiastical preferment.

Notwithstanding that the new power that was conferred upon him was not of his own seeking, it must be recorded that once it was his he was not loathe to avail himself of it. Although it had been impossible to repair immediately to Toledo, he nevertheless busied himself at once with the affairs of his diocese and assumed the supervision and administration of the many towns, fortresses and lands that were included, together with their revenues and their disbursements. One of the first matters that demanded his consideration was the government of Cazorla, the most substantial and prosperous district that belonged to the Toledan archdiocese. Included in this district were several towns that had been wrested from the Moors in the XII Century and had been granted to the diocese by King Ferdinand III, in 1231. Its administrator at this time was Pedro Hurtado de Mendoza, the younger brother of the great cardinal, and who had appointed him to that office, a man of honesty and administrative acumen and in every respect worthy to hold the position.

When Ximenez became archbishop, young Mendoza became apprehensive lest he be deposed in favor of one of Ximenez' confidants. Consequently, he appealed to the Queen to intercede in his behalf and she, knowing full well his abilities, unhesitatingly sent a message to Ximenez requesting him not to make any changes in the government of

Cazorla as she favored the continuance of the present administration. It soon became apparent that this was not the way to obtain favors from Ximenez who greatly resented any improper influence over his judgment and, particularly in this instance as he possibly feared that if he acceded to the Queen's request on this point, he might be establishing a precedent which later on might prove to be greatly embarrassing. Hence, he received the message with little enthusiasm and coldly bade the Queen's envoys to tell Her Majesty that she could depose him if she wished, but that never would he brook outside intervention in the administration of his government.<sup>1</sup>

Such an uncompromising reply piqued the powerful Mendoza family who bitterly complained to the Queen of the arrogance and ingratitude of the new primate who had attained his position only because of her influence and that of the grand cardinal. If Isabella was displeased by the independent spirit manifested by the new archbishop at the very outset of his administration, she took pains not to reveal it and apparently gave the affair no further consideration.

A short time later, Ximenez overtook Mendoza in one of the galleries of the palace as the latter was trying to avoid the meeting, and addressed him as "Governor of Cazorla." Greatly overcome by astonishment, Mendoza was unable to utter a word. When Ximenez noted his confusion and surprise,

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 12.

he continued by saying that now that he was in full liberty to exercise his own judgment, he was happy to appoint Mendoza to a position for which he had proved himself to be so admirably qualified. But, he added, he wanted it to be distinctly understood that this appointment was solely dependent on Mendoza's own abilities and not on any influence or pressure which others might have brought to bear.<sup>1</sup> Thus did Ximenez win for himself the friendship and approbation of a powerful family at the same time that he served notice to all aspirants to his favor that merit and humility were to be the criterion by which he was to be guided in the granting of benefices and offices and not friendship or political intrigue.

Despite the doubly exalted position held by Ximenez as Archbishop of Toledo and Chancellor of Castile, he resolutely continued to adhere to the simplicity of life demanded by the founder of his Order and which he was demanding of his Franciscan brethren. Nowhere was there to be found the slightest trace of luxury, either on his person or in his living quarters. There were no adornments on the walls or furnishings of his apartment, nor silver on his table. Instead of the rich and elaborate garments worn by his predecessors, he wore the coarse robe of his order. He never wore shoes but if he wore anything at all on his feet, he wore a pair of simple sandals. His food was such as only

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<sup>1</sup>ibid.

the poorest monastery might afford. Instead of the customary retinue of pages and servants, he chose ten monks of his Order to be his aides, among whom was his own brother Bernadino, with whom he lived a communal life as though in a convent. When he travelled, he did so mostly afoot although at times he rode a mule, but only of necessity.<sup>1</sup>

Such an extraordinary manner of living, previously unknown for one of such high office, provoked all manners of criticism. There were those who accused him of pusillanimity; others, of avarice or hypocrisy, but all were agreed that irrespective of the motive his manner of living was not in keeping with the dignity of his office. It is not clear whether some of their criticisms reached the ears of the pontiff or whether the sovereigns themselves apprised him of Ximenez' ascetic life. At any rate, Alexander VI issued a new brief in an effort to make the new Archbishop more tractable to the will of the Church. By this brief, perhaps the only one of its kind on record, Ximenez was released from his monastic vow of poverty and was exhorted "outwardly to conform to the dignity of his state of life, in his dress, attendants, and everything else relating to the promotion of that respect due to his position."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Vallejo, p. 19, Gomez, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup>The complete text of the brief may be found in Gomez, fol. 13. Hefele, pp. 41-42 gives a translation of it and comments that the date given, December 15th, is undoubtedly a mistake as the brief addresses Ximenez as "electo toletano" although he had already been consecrated two months.

Immediately on receipt of this apostolic order, Ximenez resolved to obey it faithfully and, in the future, to display while in public the magnificence usually associated with his office. He dismissed seven of the ten monks who had been accompanying him and, in their place, engaged a number of pages and other servants. He refused, however, to engage the customary musicians and jesters excepting that for the sake of charity he had taken into his home a half witted student who amused him by his conversational extravagances.<sup>1</sup> He changed his Franciscan robe for the episcopal vesture and was thereafter to be seen in public clad only in silks and furs which were, however, as much as possible of a greyish color to simulate more closely the robe of his monastic order.<sup>2</sup> But under this splendid vesture, he continued to wear, next to his body, the coarse woolen garment required by the Franciscan rule.<sup>3</sup> This garment he always repaired himself.

During the interim between his consecration and his official entry into Toledo, two years later, Ximenez

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<sup>1</sup> Fernando de Valdes, Memoriales para la historia de Cisneros, Ms. in the University Library of Madrid.

<sup>2</sup> Vallejo is presumable mistaken when he asserts that when Ximenez entered Toledo he was clad in the Franciscan robe as by this time he had already received papal orders to conform to the traditional dress of his office. There is a slight possibility that Ximenez reverted to his former dress to indicate the humility with which he approached his exalted position.

<sup>3</sup> Gomez, fol. 13.

maintained a close contact with Toledo and its affairs despite his absence. Confidential reports which he received from time to time convinced him that the same laxity which he had earlier discovered among the Franciscans characterized also the secular orders of his diocese. Hence, he proposed an early meeting of a synod for the purpose of formulating an ecclesiastical reform in his diocese and of unifying somewhat the multiplicity of details and projects under his administration. Meanwhile, he laid the foundation for his contemplated reform by instituting radical innovations in his own cathedral chapter.

As soon as word was received at Toledo that Jimenez had finally accepted the archbishop's miter, the Toledan chapter appointed two of their members, Francisco Alvarez and Juan Quintanapalla, to represent them at the consecration service.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after their arrival at Tarazona, Jimenez closeted himself with them to discuss in general the condition of the diocese but more particularly of that of the Cathedral itself. Only the briefest of inquiries were sufficient to reveal what he had already suspected, namely, a notorious dereliction among the ecclesiastics and even among those who were responsible for the offices. Jimenez, therefore, informed the two delegates that it was his intention to introduce a stricter discipline among the clergy of the diocese and, more particularly, among those who con-

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fols. 16 and 17.

stituted the cathedral chapter who, because of their constant exposure to the public's view, should above all others live an exemplary life. Hence he requested the two canons, that when they should return to Toledo, they should convey to the chapter his earnest desire that they give up their own magnificent private dwellings as soon as possible and live a communal life, according to the rule of their order, in some dwelling near the cathedral; but, by all means, did he demand of those who were required to officiate at the week-day services of the church, to live near the sanctuary so as to be able to perform their duties with greater faithfulness. And he finally indicated, that if there were no suitable building for them nearby, he would provide it.<sup>1</sup>

The report of the two canons was very glumly received. Any ideas, however, that they may have had that their new superior was not altogether serious in what he said were soon dispelled when they became aware that he had engaged an architect to build living quarters in the high cloister that was contiguous to the church. And when they perceived that the cells being built were more than the three required by those attending the weekly services, they became truly alarmed as the full significance of such a building project dawned on them. Hoping to thwart any radical program Ximenez had planned for them, yet not daring

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<sup>1</sup>ibid.

to oppose him openly, they resolved to enlist the sympathies of Rome in their behalf and, if need be, seek papal intervention.

To carry out their delicate mission, they selected Alfonso de Albornoz, the grand chaplain of Toledo, a man of keen insight and wide experience, who hastily made ready to go to Rome, ostensibly to negotiate some private business matters. Despite the secrecy with which the whole affair was handled, the suspicions of Ximenez were thoroughly aroused when only the vaguest answers were given to his inquiries as to Albornoz's contemplated journey to the capital of Christendom. A brief investigation by Ximenez revealed both the general disaffection of the clerics and the real mission of Albornoz. Consequently, and by royal authority, the indignant Archbishop dispatched an officer to Valencia with instructions to seize him. In the event that he had already sailed, the officer was to charter a fast vessel and either overtake the disgruntled chapter's envoy or repair immediately to Rome with the Queen's request to her ambassador, Garcelaso de la Vega, to have Albornoz arrested and returned to Spain.

As it had been anticipated, Albornoz had already departed by the time the Archbishop's agent reached Valencia but the latter, in keeping with his instructions, hired such a fast sailing galley that he reached Ostia five days ahead of the former and was ready to arrest him when he disembarked. Albornoz was immediately returned to Spain, without even having communicated with the Pope, where he was



incarcerated in the Castle of Atienza. He was later transferred to Alcala where he enjoyed a measure of freedom but under the close surveillance of the Archbishop until the latter's occupancy of his see. He was then permitted to return to Toledo where he remained for about eighteen months after which he was again sent to Alcala.<sup>1</sup>

The mission of Albornoz was not a total failure as far as the chapter was concerned. When Ximenez saw the marked opposition that was being offered his innovations, he diplomatically told the chapter that he had not intended to compel them by force to submit to the rule of their order - the St. Augustine - but merely had intended to advise them and exhort them to do so. After this he wisely dropped the matter.<sup>2</sup> The new apartments, which had been built also adjacent to the archbishop's palace were eventually made a part of it and became the lodgings of the Catholic Kings when stopping at Toledo.<sup>3</sup>

When Ximenez was finally able to make his personal entry into Toledo, he proposed to do so inconspicuously by night, unannounced save to a small group of familiars and intimates, hoping thereby to prevent an ostentatious demon-

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<sup>1</sup> Gomez, fol. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Retana, col. i, p. 182.

stration by the populace. He was prevailed to do otherwise, however, as an elaborate reception had been planned for him and his advisors feared that his entry having been so long delayed, the people's keen disappointment at not being able to carry out their plans might turn into resentment to the Archbishop's eventual hurt.<sup>1</sup>

The date selected for the occupancy of his diocese was September 20, 1497. The entire population of Toledo made ready for his arrival. Most of them had very early sought strategic positions along the way Jimenez would travel with a great portion of them lining the road to Madrid, outside the city walls. When word came that Jimenez was but a league's distance away, the highest dignitaries of the cathedral chapter, robed in their costliest vestments and mounted on elaborately adorned mules, set out to meet him, each accompanied by a servant who was likewise expensively attired.<sup>2</sup> In marked contrast was the new Archbishop who was dressed in the simple garb of the Franciscans and was mounted on a small donkey devoid of all trappings. In place of the accustomed retinue without which his predecessors scarcely ever travelled, he had a small escort of intimates.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 19.

<sup>3</sup>Vallejo, pp. 16 and 17.

Church officials and Ximenez having met and the customary greetings having been exchanged, all journeyed back to Toledo amid the joyous acclaim of the Toledans. When they arrived at the city's gates, they were met by the civil dignitaries. From that point the procession continued afoot excepting Ximenez, who alone remained mounted. The entire cathedral chapter, in their most colorful attire, met them as they approached the main doorway of the church. Here the procession halted as Ximenez made his way to a platform on which stood a cross, the Gospels, and the "Book of Privileges" belonging to the Toledan church, which the new Archbishop was required, under oath, solemnly to promise to defend before he could enter the sanctuary.

After performing this rite, Ximenez made his way to the high altar where he knelt in reverent adoration of the Host. Meanwhile the ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries had made their way to a special platform that had been erected nearby which, at their request, Ximenez later ascended to preach an extempore sermon before retiring from the Cathedral to attend a public reception in his honor.<sup>1</sup>

On the third day he summoned the entire chapter to set before them his contemplated program for the diocese and his ecclesiastical policy. He told them in substance, according to Gomez, that "they were not ignorant of how unwillingly he had been elevated to his present dignity and

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<sup>1</sup> Gomez, fol. 19; Vallejo, p. 17.

that none knew better than he how unworthy he was to meet its exacting burdens under which he was already feeling himself bowing down but that he was trusting, however, in the grace of God and in their own sympathetic assistance and prayers for strength to carry on, as he was fully aware how dependent he was on them for the fulfillment of his aspirations for the diocese." He then outlined his immediate aims which were to intensify the worship of God throughout the diocese, to reform the current ecclesiastical manner of living, and to restore the present lax discipline to its former rigor, suggesting that inasmuch "as the ecclesiastics of the diocese of Toledo surpassed all others in dignities and revenues so should they also surpass them in purity and piety." He promised both to encourage and reward those who walked uprightly but solemnly warned one and all that "if he discovered among them any who were hopelessly corrupt, he would spare neither the knife nor the fire as he was fully aware that the Supreme Judge would demand from him an accounting of them. He was confident, however, that he would not be called upon to go to such extremes of discipline as he was anticipating only the best from such a worthy and venerable chapter." And he finally told them that he planned to hold a Synod shortly at Alcala and exhorted the chapter to send their accustomed commissioners to that meeting but choosing them only from among those who were best qualified to discuss the abuses among ecclesiastics and to suggest the best

method of reform.<sup>1</sup> After a brief reply from the dean, who spoke in the chapter's behalf, the meeting adjourned.

Ximenez gave the same serious thought to selecting the many members of his household that he did to some of the weightier matters that called for his decision. He early adopted a policy of choosing his servants and pages not only for the service which they could render him personally but also for the honor they could bring to the Church. He required that everyone of his household be of sterling reputation and promptly dismissed those about whom there was so much as a breath of scandal. There were a number of the sons of the nobility included among his pages for whom he engaged a special master to instruct them but he himself heard their recitations.<sup>2</sup> Several of these attendants attained later on positions of considerable import in the church.<sup>3</sup> In the matter of his dress, he continued to wear beneath his episcopal vestments the coarse Franciscan robe. He never slept in the luxurious bed that had been provided

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 16.

<sup>3</sup>Francisco de Quiñones, son of the Count de Luna and nephew of Enrique Enriquez, an uncle of the King, who became later general of the Franciscan Order, bishop of Coria, and, finally, Cardinal of Santa Cruz. Alonso de Castilla, who became bishop of Calahorra and Santo Domingo de la Calzada; Pedro Gonzalez Xuares de Mendoza, son of the Count of Coruña; Bernardino de la Cueva, son of the Duke of Albuquerque; Diego Lopez de Ayala, member of the illustrious family of Toledo, who became Canon of the Toledan cathedral; Martin Lopez de Gurrea, of the Aragonese nobility, and "many other sons of the Castillian nobility", Vallejo, p. 25.

for him but slept on a little wooden platform which he trundled under it during the day. When the domestics discovered this habit, he pledged them to secrecy as he drily remarked, "That is the bed of the Archbishop of Toledo, but this is the bed of the friar."<sup>1</sup>

He had an insatiable desire for conserving time and scarcely ever slept more than just a few hours of a night. He often arose as early as two o'clock in the morning to work out the details of some of his many projects.<sup>2</sup> He nevertheless spent much time in prayer and meditation and confessed almost daily. He usually had himself shaved before retiring so that he would be ready for business that much sooner on the following day; and even while he was being shaved did he have someone read to him the Scriptures, so avaricious was he of the time.<sup>3</sup>

He resorted to stratagem to discourage those who would needlessly waste his time. He had practically no furniture in his audience chamber; if those seeking an interview brought any business of importance, they were asked to be

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<sup>1</sup>Vergara, Ms.

<sup>2</sup>Quintanilla, p. 83, relates that on one occasion as Jimenez was travelling to Alcala in Seville that his party had to put up at an inn near Cordoba because of the poor condition of the roads which had impeded their progress. Long before dawn he awoke his muleteer telling that they must be on their way as it was already late, at which the latter irreverently exclaimed, "Cuerpo de Dios! Am I like your reverence who needs do no more than shake himself like a wet spaniel and tighten his cord a little?"

<sup>3</sup>Quintanilla, p. 82.

seated and he would sometimes be seated with them, otherwise, he would receive them standing up or walking to and fro, but in any case, he always had a Bible handy to which he turned and began to read when he considered the interview closed. Although he endeavored to receive everyone who came to see him, he soon discovered that many came seeking financial aid. He wasted little time on these but turned them over to his almoners, of whom he usually had two or three, for, as he said, "those seeking aid understand far better a reply framed in alms than in words."<sup>1</sup>

The hours of seven to eleven o'clock in the mornings were devoted to conference periods, excepting when he was regent and held his audiences in the afternoon. Promptly at eleven o'clock he listened to the recitations of his pages and their boisterous and frivolous chatter became the only recreation he allowed himself. He always planned to have about him learned men who, at his request, discussed during the luncheon hour topics of theology, philosophy, and law, enabling him thereby to keep apace with the new developments in these subjects. Included among these notables were the humanist, Juan de Vergara, who was also his secretary; the noted grammarian, Antonio de Lebrija; the philologists, Pablo Coronel and Alfonso de Zamora; the jurists, Valdes and Frias, who also remained with

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<sup>1</sup>  
Gomez, fol. 20.

him until his death; and the illustrious theologians, Pedro de Lerma, Nicolas de Paz, and Hernando de Balbas. When Gomez was collecting material for his biography he included a letter from Dr. Balbas in which the latter gives a very graphic description of the lively debates that were held about the luncheon table and points out that during a twelve month period, he himself was called upon to defend daily no fewer than three or four propositions on theology or philosophy. He further states that the fame of these disputations grew to such a point that they were attended not only by men of learning but also by the nobility and none was regarded to have any standing in the fields of theology, philosophy, or law who had not been present at some of these discussions.<sup>1</sup> He usually devoted his afternoons to deliberating matters of State but would not tolerate their intrusion into the one hour he strictly reserved for himself, from five to six, no matter how pressing they might be. This hour was devoted to a study of the great theologians, among whom Thomas Aquinas was his favorite. Promptly at six o'clock he summoned the members of his household for a discussion of theological and other questions and encouraged even the humblest ones present to have a part.<sup>2</sup> This was

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<sup>1</sup> The original of this letter, dated 26th of February, 1558, has been preserved in the Memoriales para la Vida del Cardenal Cisneros, in the University Library at Madrid. Quintanilla has copied it in full and has included it in his Archetypo, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Quintanilla, loc. cit.



followed by his evening meal that consisted usually of cooked vegetables or a dish he held in great favor made up of grated bread, milk, honey and pounded almonds.<sup>1</sup> After this scanty meal, he spent the rest of the time before retiring in quiet meditation. This program of living he followed faithfully until his death.<sup>2</sup>

He manifested the same parsimonious attitude in the administration of his diocese that he did in his private life. In spite of his amazing capacity of laboring in a variety of fields and doing it equally well, he was first and foremost a churchman. He had a passion for the glory of the Church and placed it ahead of anything else. So eager was he to appoint the right people to the many benefices at his command, that he never made an appointment hastily, believing that it was far better for a church to remain vacant for a while than to be occupied by one who was unworthy. Although he never turned a deaf ear to any who brought to his attention likely candidates for vacant benefices, he always reserved for himself the right of private judgment and never made an appointment until the candidate had been subjected to the closest scrutiny. He usually made all appointments to parish churches by Easter time, convinced that such a holy season demanded the presence of the regularly settled priest for its better observance. Other benefices he be-

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<sup>1</sup>Memorial para la Vida - Gomez, fol. 239.

<sup>2</sup>Retana, vol i, p. 189.

stowed, however, at unexpected seasons believing that he would thereby sustain the hopes of the worthiest of the aspirants and prevent their transfer to other dioceses. But regardless of the value of each benefice to which he made his appointments, he sought, insofar as possible, to fill them with men of learning and culture, as well as piety, so that they could freely take their place among the nobility and the intellectual as well as among the untutored and the under-privileged.<sup>1</sup>

Ximenez' income as Archbishop of Toledo was, as has already been mentioned, an enormous one.<sup>2</sup> After a careful inventory of his needs and the requirements of his many contemplated projects, he apportioned his revenues as follows: one half of his income he devoted to wholly beneficent purposes, such as the care of the poor, giving shelter to homeless children, supporting elderly spinsters and helpless widows, and caring for the sick and infirm. One half of the remaining, or only a fourth of the total, did he anticipate spending for the upkeep of his own household. The remaining fourth he planned to use in establishing convents and hospitals, erecting churches, printing books, and promoting many of his other projects as we shall see later on. In order to relieve himself of the endless details in con-

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, vol 1, p. 191, quoting Torres, cap. xiii.

<sup>2</sup>The average yearly income was about 80,000 ducats, approximately 140,000 pounds but infinitely greater than this amount in actual purchasing power.

nection with his distribution of alms, he appointed Juan de Cardena his chief almoner, a discreet and trustworthy prelate to whom he gave full and unrestricted powers over half of his income.<sup>1</sup>

Ximenez was unable to remain more than just a brief time at Toledo as the sovereigns shortly thereafter summoned him to Alcala following the untimely death of their son, the Prince of Asturias. But the few months that he was there, however, were sufficient for him to initiate a number of needed reforms. One of the first of these was in the cathedral itself. Shortly after he had arrived at Toledo, perhaps the same day on which he made his official entry, he noticed that the choir was greatly crowded because of the presence of an old mortuary chapel that contained the remains of former kings and by the imposing tomb of Cardinal Mendoza that had been erected next to the high altar. He proposed, therefore, to remove the royal remains to another chapel and to move back the high altar several feet and enlarge it both to provide a more adequate choir and to make it conform better to the magnificence and immensity of the rest of the cathedral.

But the Archbishop soon discovered that such an undertaking, as desirable as it might be, could not be effected

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<sup>1</sup> Alvar Gomez, fol 13. A very interesting and detailed list of the major charities has been included in Memorial para la vida de Cisneros, fols, 199, 200.

without first overcoming a most stubborn opposition. On the one hand he had to contend with the royal chaplains who were benefitting from a handsome endowment and who feared losing these benefits were the royal remains removed to another chapel, and on the other, he had to face the powerful Mendoza family who strongly objected to the removal of the high altar as then the Cardinal would not be buried next to it as he had stipulated in his will. Despite the opposition, Ximenez proceeded with his plans and left instructions for the work to begin before he departed for Alcala but during his absence the indignant chapter ordered it stopped and would not allow it to resume until the Queen herself had approved of it.<sup>1</sup> The following January, 1498, Isabella went to Toledo and gave her assent to the project, which thereafter proceeded without interruption until its completion six years later.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Gomez, fol 21. Retana calls attention to the fact that even to this day the officiating priests bend the knee in genuflection on arriving at the steps leading to the high altar, as well as when they reach it, in recognition of the time when it was in its former location. Retana, vol. i, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> A detailed account of this undertaking and its cost may be found in Retana, vol. i, p. 208.

## C H A P T E R     T H R E E

### THE ECCLESIASTICAL REFORM - FURTHER ACTIVITIES IN THE DIOCESE

Reference has already been made to the extraordinary moral corruption that was universally prevalent in the Spanish Church of the fifteenth century. There is no one particular cause to which this decay might be attributed. It had its origin in the accumulation of a number of contributing factors that were rooted in the low standards of morality generally held in that period and in the ecclesiastical practices that were not only tolerated but in many instances encouraged by those who made the Church their tool for the advancement of their own nefarious schemes.

One of these contributing factors was, undoubtedly, the immense wealth at the command of bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries which, in the hands of conscientious and consecrated administrators was often used for the promotion of eleemosynary enterprises but in the hands of the worldly, was a constant temptation for the fulfillment of temporal ambitions and the gratification of fleshly desires. According to Marineo Siculo, the archbishops of Toledo had an annual income of 80,000 ducats; of Seville, 24,000 ducats; of Santiago, 20,000; and of Granada, 10,000. The bishops of Burgos and Sigüenza each

received 20,000 ducats; of Cuenca, 16,000, and of Segovia, 14,000.<sup>1</sup>

The great number of benefices, many of which were richly endowed, were another reason for this laxity as they attracted to the ecclesiastical life many who possessed neither a sense of vocation nor an adequate preparation for discharging their responsibilities. Indeed, the requirements for scholarship had so depreciated, that the Council of Aranda, held in 1473, (Canon X), forbade the appointment of persons to parochial churches or prebends who had no knowledge of Latin but it immediately weakened its real intent by adding, "unless, for good cause, the bishop shall see fit to dispense with this requirement."<sup>2</sup> According to Peter Martyr, a clergyman of noble birth who could preach in his time was "rarer than a white crow."<sup>3</sup> The inadequate learning of the clergy led to the inevitable extravagant superstitions from which not even the clergy themselves were free. Pious legends of miraculous events and the lives of the saints were the favorite reading of the devout, but the illiterate vulgar were dependent on stories of every-day miracles with which the priests and friars filled their credu-

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<sup>1</sup>Cosas Memorables de España, quoted by Hefele, p. 197, note.

<sup>2</sup>Landon, Manual of Church Councils, pp. 167-8.

<sup>3</sup>Hefele, p. 198.

lous minds.<sup>1</sup>

Another reason for the low moral ebb of the Church was the growing practice of appointing to offices of high rank, chiefly for political reasons, many persons who were obviously unfit for them either because of their immaturity or their lack of moral or mental qualifications. Hence, for example, Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, who later became Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal of Spain, and often called "the Third Sovereign" because of his extraordinary influence, held the curacy of Hita when a mere child and was appointed to the archdeaconry of Guadalajara, one of the wealthiest benefices in Spain, when he was twelve years of age. Thus also, Ferdinand of Aragon, aided by his father, John II, and by Queen Isabella, in 1476 forced Pope Sixtus IV to appoint his natural son Alfonso to the episcopal see of Zaragoza when the latter was but six years of age and already a subdeacon.<sup>2</sup> Possibly Ferdinand felt himself justified in so doing as that see had been previously occupied by Juan de Aragon, the bastard son of John II.<sup>3</sup> And, similarly, attention might be called to Juan Cerezuela, the brother of Alvaro de Luna, who was appointed to the episco-

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<sup>1</sup>McCrie, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup>Lea, History of the Spanish Inquisition, vol. i., p. 13; La Fuente, Historia Ecclesiastica de España, vol. ii, p. 428.

<sup>3</sup>Hefele, p. 201.

pal see of Osma despite his notorious ignorance.<sup>1</sup>

Of no small consequence was the disgraceful example set by the popes themselves and their courtiers. So relaxed had even the papacy become that, in the words of the historian Lea:

"The latter half of the fifteenth century scarcely saw a supreme pontiff without the visible evidence of human frailty around him, the unblushing acknowledgement of which is the fittest commentary on the tone of clerical morality. Sixtus IV was believed to embody the utmost concentration of human wickedness until Borgia came to divide with him the pre-eminence of evil. The success of Innocent VIII in increasing the population of Rome was a favorite topic with the wits of the day (2) but the epitaph which declared that filth, gluttony, avarice and sloth lay buried in his tomb did not anticipate the immediate resurrection of the worst of these vices in the person of his successor, Alexander VI (3). If the crimes of Borgia were foul, their number and historical importance have rendered them so well known that I may be spared more than a passing allusion to a career which has made his name a byword.... It was reserved for Cesare Cantu to find in the criminal ambition of his son Cesare Borgia an argument in favor of the celibacy which relieved the world of a series of papal offspring. Bishop Burchard, Alexander's master of ceremonies, naively remarks that he followed and improved on the example of Innocent VIII of giving daughters in marriage, so that all the clergy diligently set to work to get children, and, from the lowest to the highest, they publicly kept concubines with all the appearances of marriage. He adds that unless God interferes this custom will spread to the monks, although already nearly all the convents in Rome are brothels, without anyone taking exception to it." (4)

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<sup>1</sup>La Puente, Historia Ecclesiastica de España, vol. II, p. 427.

<sup>2</sup>Pope Innocent VIII was credited with sixteen illegitimate children. Lea, History of Sacerdotal Celibacy, vol. i, p. 429, note.

<sup>3</sup>Pope Alexander VI was the father of nine children whose names are known. Two of his mistresses were married women, viz. Vannozza Catanei and Giulia Bella Farnese. The latter was a sister of Alexander Farnese who afterward became Pope Paul III. op. cit. p. 429.

<sup>4</sup>op. cit., pp. 427-429.



And the same low standard for purity was the standard for honesty and integrity of the pontiffs of that day. This same Alexander availed himself of every unscrupulous subterfuge to attain his worldly ambitions. Solely for the purpose of increasing his revenues he created eighty new offices which he sold at an average price of 760 ducats each.<sup>1</sup> This was March 23, 1503. A few weeks later, May 31, the Venetian Envoy reported: "Today there was a Consistory. Instead of four new Cardinals, as people had expected and as the pope had said, nine were nominated.... Most of them are men of doubtful reputation; all have paid handsomely for their elevation, some 20,000 ducats and more, so that from 120,000 to 130,000 ducats have been collected. If we add to this the 64,000 ducats from the sale of the offices in court, and what Cardinal Michiel left behind him, we shall have a fine sum. Alexander VI is showing to the world that the amount of a pope's income is just what he chooses it to be."<sup>2</sup> Even his election was obtained by the rankest simony and by it he attained the highest dignity in Christendom, yet in the early days of the Church he would not have been admitted to the lowest rank of the clergy because of his immoral life.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Pastor, vol. vi., p. 127.

<sup>2</sup>Pastor, vol. vi., pp. 128-29.

<sup>3</sup>Pastor, vol. vi., p. 385.

The indecorous conduct of many of the royalty was another contributing factor to the shameful condition that prevailed. The loose living of King Henry IV and his Queen Joanna and of the other sovereigns was fairly typical of the day. King Ferdinand, in addition to his legitimate children had at least four others which he had begotten.<sup>1</sup> Concubines of royalty and of the nobility mixed freely with women of the highest rank and it was no uncommon sight to behold a mistress by the side of the lawful wife. Indeed, so generally accepted was concubinage, that Henry IV brazenly appointed his mistress, Catharina von Sandoval, abbess of the monastery of San Pedro de las Dueñas so that, according to his own testimony, "she might reform its morals."<sup>2</sup>

In view of the lamentable disregard of purity and honesty that was manifested among the heads of state and church, it is not surprising that that same disregard became a part of the average ecclesiastic of the times. Hence, concubinage was generally practiced and this of such long standing that it had attained almost a place of respectability in spite of every effort that the church had made to eradicate it. There was hardly a council held that did not proscribe it. The Synod of Palencia, held in the XII Century, decreed that "notorious" concubines of the

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<sup>1</sup>La Fuente, Historia General de España, vol.vii, p. 139, note

<sup>2</sup>Hefele, p. 199 and note.

clergy were to be ejected, but made no provision for disciplining the ecclesiastical offenders.<sup>1</sup> In 1246, the priests of Cordoba pleaded ignorance of Church law in justifying their keeping concubines, although two years earlier, under pressure of the Cardinal of St. Sabina, then papal legate, public concubinarians were ordered to be suspended, deprived of their benefices, and degraded from holy orders.<sup>2</sup> Some twenty years later, Alfonso the Wise had to resort to a formal interdiction of matrimony to those in orders,<sup>3</sup> yet at the same time granted the ecclesiastics of the diocese of Salamanca the right of legitimating their children and of bequeathing their real and personal property to them or their descendants.<sup>4</sup> The Councils of Gerona, in 1257, of Urgel, in 1286, and of Peñafiel, in 1302 (canon ii) unsuccessfully attempted to cope with the problem.<sup>5</sup> So likewise did the Council of Valladolid, in 1322, which provided by the Sixth canon that "no ecclesiastic, regular or secular, even though a bishop, shall baptize or marry his sons or grandsons, legitimate or illegitimate," and by the Seventh forbade public concubin-

<sup>1</sup>Lea, History of Sacerdotal Celibacy, vol. i., p. 376.

<sup>2</sup>Lea, op. cit., p. 387.

<sup>3</sup>ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Lea, op. cit., p. 379; La Fuente, Historia Ecclesiastica de España, vol. ii., p. 431.

<sup>5</sup>Lea, op. cit., p. 380.

age.<sup>1</sup> How effectual these regulations were may be ascertained from the fact that two years later, in the Council of Toledo another effort was made to curb this scandal, as was also done later on in the councils of Salamanca, in 1335 (canon iii); of Palentino, in 1338 (canon ii); of Tortosa, in 1429 (canon ii); and of Aranda, 1473 (canon ix).<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding these many prohibitions, concubinage continued to be openly practiced. It had attained such alarming proportions by the middle of the XIV Century that the Cortes of Castile, in the year 1351, complained that the concubines of the clergy could not be distinguished from married ladies as they shamelessly walked abroad dressed in fine garments and adorned with much jewelry. In an attempt to remedy this situation, King Peter the Cruel ordered that all ecclesiastical concubines should be plainly attired and should wear a red head band, three fingers in width, under penalty for each infraction of the clothes they were then wearing in addition to an upward scaling fine.<sup>3</sup>

So general was the impurity of ecclesiastics that it seemed none was exempt from succumbing to the weaknesses of the flesh. Even the great Cardinal Mendoza had had amorous affairs with at least two women of noble birth by whom were  
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<sup>1</sup>Landon, Manual of Church Councils, p. 258.

<sup>2</sup>La Fuente, Historia Ecclesiastica de España, vol. ii., p. 431, - Landon, Manual of Church Councils, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup>Lea, History of Sacerdotal Celibacy, vol. i, p. 382.

born several children often referred to as "the beautiful sins of the Cardinal."<sup>1</sup> One of these was Rodrigo de Mendoza, who accompanied the Cardinal at Granada and later married a niece of King Ferdinand. Another son, by a lady of Valladolid, was Juan who married another niece of Ferdinand.<sup>2</sup> Alonso Carrillo, the Archbishop of Toledo, had his son's body buried in the church of the Franciscan monastery at Alcala where it remained until Ximenez ordered its removal. Archbishop Fonseca, of Santiago, not only was the father of a son but declared him to be his successor in the archiepiscopal see, a two-fold scandal, in spite of the objections of all Spain and of Ximenez in particular.<sup>3</sup> His frailty, however, was no worse than his predecessor's, Rodrigo de Luna, also Archbishop of Santiago, who was deposed in the year 1458 for having dishonored a lady on the day of her marriage.<sup>4</sup> In view, then, of the widespread relaxation among those who were the head of the church, it is little wonder that concubinage was so widely practiced among the lower ecclesiastics.

A further manifestation of the almost complete moral

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<sup>1</sup>La Fuente, Historia General de España, vol. vii, p.141.

<sup>2</sup>Lea, History of the Spanish Inquisition, vol. i. p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>Flechier, pp. 559, 560.

<sup>4</sup>Hefele, p. 200.

breakdown of the Church is to be seen in the widespread activity of ecclesiastics in political affairs and their fostering of schemes, plots, and alliances for the furthering of their own ambitions rather than for the promotion of Christian doctrine and living. Archbishop Carrillo had so deviated from the rectitude of life expected from one of so high an office that Hernando Pulgar remonstrated with him, saying, "The people look to you as their bishop and find in you an enemy; they groan and complain that you use your authority not for their benefit and reformation but for their destruction; in you they see not an exemplar of kindness and peace but of corruption, scandal and disturbance."<sup>1</sup> Of all prelates Carrillo was probably the fiercest and most turbulent, often letting his war-like propensities expend themselves on the battlefield. On several occasions he was known to have worn a coat of armor under his ecclesiastical tunic. At the second battle of Olmedo in which he participated when fighting the cause of Alfonso against his brother King Henry IV, he was acclaimed a real champion and, though wounded by a spear thrust, was the last to leave the battlefield.<sup>2</sup> Yet he was only one of many ecclesiastics who distinguished themselves because of their warring natures. Don Pedro Tenorio who had preceded him in the see of Toledo,

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<sup>1</sup> Lea, History of the Spanish Inquisition, vol. i., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> La Fuente, Historia General de España, vol. vi., p. 224.

had been the most turbulent subject during the minority of King Henry III. The bishop of Palencia, Sancho de Rojas, was in the company of King Ferdinand during the War of Granada and captained a part of the army at the conquest of Antequera. Similarly, Juan de Cerezuela, the Bishop of Osma, to whom mention has already been made as an outstanding exponent of ecclesiastical ignorance, headed a detachment at Sierra Elvira and successfully attacked the Saracen stores at Atarife. And in the same war, the Bishop of Jaen, Gonzalo de Zuñiga, in battling against the Moors at Guadix, was unhorsed but continued fighting afoot brandishing his sword right and left until he was rescued by the opportune arrival of Juan de Padilla.<sup>1</sup> Nor was Ximenez himself free from these warring tendencies. He himself conceived and captained the campaign against Oran and was heard to declare that "the smell of gunpowder was more grateful to him than the sweetest perfume of Arabia."<sup>2</sup>

The universal relaxation to which Spanish ecclesiastics had succumbed is also evidenced by their luxurious living. For the most part, they lived in comfortable apartments that in many cases were real mansions with magnificent appointments. Their tables were bountifully supplied with the costliest wines and viands and their bodies were

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<sup>1</sup> ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Gomez, fol. 160.

clothed with the most expensive finery. Most of the ecclesiastics seemed to believe that the chief end of their religious calling was to gratify the desires of their flesh and to seek a life of comfort and ease.<sup>1</sup> On every hand were manifestations of the sin of avarice from which apparently no ecclesiastic was immune. Only here and there, like solitary voices crying in the wilderness, were there those who opposed the deplorable conditions that prevailed. Such a one was Juan Ruiz, the archpriest of Hita, whose poems contain many references and biting satires on the avarice and loose living of the clergy. He represents money as purchasing benefices for the priests and salvation for the people, and opening the gates of paradise; as converting a lie into the truth and the truth into a lie; as being as mighty at the court of Rome as elsewhere, with none being free from its grasp, not even the Pope nor any of the church orders.<sup>2</sup>

It was inevitable, therefore, that in view of the widespread corruption in the Spanish Church and of the abhorrence with which Ximenez viewed it, as was demonstrated by his reform of the monastic orders, that as soon as he as-

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<sup>1</sup>This was often in marked contrast to the sovereign's circumstances. On one occasion, while the Archbishop of Toledo was dining at a sumptuous banquet, King Henry III had to pawn his military cloak to buy food for himself and family. La Fuente, Historia Ecclesiastica de España, vol. ii, p. 427.

<sup>2</sup>McCrie, p. 59.



sumed possession of the arch-diocese of Toledo he should attack the problem of an ecclesiastical reform with the same ardor. It is quite obvious, though, that his announcement of a stricter discipline was not at first taken seriously as a good many of the ecclesiastics believed that his reforms, like all previous ones which had been instituted, would die an abortive death. The unhappy ending of Pope Alexander's and Archbishop Carrillo's attempts were so fresh in their memories that they felt quite justified in viewing lightly the program which Ximenez proposed to follow. In one of his better moments, the notorious Alexander sought to combat the relaxation of the clergy which long had been the scandal of the church. No sooner had he embarked on his program than it was suddenly interrupted by the brutal assassination of his son, the Duke of Gandia.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this tragedy he was so beside himself with grief that he was scarcely able to do more than weep all day long and at one time contemplated renouncing the papal chair.<sup>2</sup> He was dissuaded from doing so by King Ferdinand who strongly urged him, perhaps at the insistence of Isabella, to prosecute his reforms. At any rate, believing that the tragic death of his son was a visitation from God because of the corrupt living of the clergy, Alexander

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<sup>1</sup> Pastor, History of the Popes, Second Edition, St. Louis, Mo., 1902, pp. 494-5.

<sup>2</sup> Pastor, op. cit., p. 502.

again gave thought to the purification of their life and determined to begin his reforms with the papal court itself.<sup>1</sup> Aided by a committee of six cardinals, he drafted a bull that proposed to curb the evil practices of which the cardinals themselves were guilty. By this bull, the cardinals were limited to but one bishopric and to an annual revenue from other benefices not to exceed six thousand ducats. Stringent enactments were also drawn up against simoniacal practices at papal elections and against the worldly life of the cardinals. The canonical prohibitions against gaming and field-sports were confirmed. The households of cardinals were limited to not more than eighteen persons, of whom at least twelve had to be in sacred orders. Neither could they possess more than thirty horses. Concubinage and extortionate fees charged by the secretaries for services rendered were also condemned.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, however, as soon as the bull was issued, it was filed away. Nothing was done about it and the condition of the Church remained the same.

Much the same was the history of Carrillo's efforts to ameliorate the scandalous practices of the Toledan ecclesiastics. In December, 1473, he convoked a provincial synod at Aranda for the purpose of discussing and enforcing a stricter discipline with the result that many commendable  
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<sup>1</sup>Pastor, op. cit., p. 500.

<sup>2</sup>Pastor, op. cit., pp. 515 ff.

regulations were enacted. Chief among these were the following: A diocesan synod was to be held annually and a provincial council biennially (canon i). Every Lent the clergy were commanded to explain to their respective flocks the principal articles of religion (canon ii). No one was to be admitted to holy orders who did not understand Latin; when bishops were unable to be present themselves at the examinations of the clerics, they were to appoint two delegates to examine the candidates, who should attest by oath to their fitness (canon iii). Ecclesiastics were enjoined not to wear silks, highly colored or otherwise excessively magnificent vestments (canons 5,6,7). Keeping concubines was to be punished with loss of the benefice; those having concubines were given two months in which to part with them (canon 9). As dicing led to homicide and other crimes, that diversion was forbidden, both in private and public (canon 11). As there were many priests preaching the most unintelligible vagaries and scandalous sermons, no licenses to preach were to be issued until the candidate had submitted to a rigorous examination and had been approved by the bishop (canon 13). The use of firearms by ecclesiastics was forbidden (canon 15). The celebration of marriage was allowed to take place only at certain periods (canon 16). Secret affiances were forbidden unless five or more witnesses were present; violators were to be punished by excommunication and the ecclesiastics who had blessed such affiances were to be suspended for three

months and deprived of their benefices for the same period (canon 17). Theatrical plays and other representations were strictly forbidden to be held in churches, especially on Christmas Eve and the three following days; priests who should permit such unbecoming scenes were to be heavily fined (canon 19). Other regulations ordered bishops to celebrate mass at least three times a year; prohibited their charging a fee for ordinations or participating in wars; and instructed them to make severe examples of all offenders in the matter of discipline. Priests were ordered to celebrate mass at least four times a year. And since dueling was forbidden by both canon and civil law, Christian burial was to be denied anyone who died as the result of a duel.<sup>1</sup> Unhappily, however, these reforms were made on paper only; the dissolute and belligerent Carrillo, whose life of all ecclesiastics perhaps needed most reforming, was not the man to undertake the purgation of the clergy. It remained for Ximenez, a man of amazing fortitude and determination, whose own moral life was above reproach, to put into execution what others had failed to accomplish.

Reference has already been made both to certain reformatory measures which Ximenez effected shortly after his consecration as Archbishop, and prior to his first entry

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<sup>1</sup>Landon, Manual of Church Councils, pp. 167-68, has a complete summary of the 28 canons. See also Lea, History of the Spanish Inquisition, vol. i., Chap. i; Hefele, pp. 208-209.

into Toledo, as well as to a diocesan synod he proposed to call to enact regulations for correcting the relaxed living of the clergy. In keeping with this proposal, not only one but two synods were held, the first at Alcala, in 1497, and the second at Talavera de la Reina, a year later. Unfortunately, the "acts" of Alcala appear to have been lost, although Gomez, Robles, and other of the earlier biographers evidently had access to them. Even the whereabouts of those of Talavera had remained in obscurity, and were believed to have been lost until their discovery in 1897 by Benito Hernando who found them in the library of the University of Salamanca, bound in the back of "Suma de Confession", by Saint Antonio, Archbishop of Florence.<sup>1</sup> Inasmuch, however, as the Synod of Talavera did scarcely more than ratify what had already been decreed the year before at Alcala, it will suffice to examine the conclusions of this Synod to appreciate the scope and temper of Ximenez' contemplated reforms.

The Synod met October 23rd<sup>2</sup> and was attended by a large number of ecclesiastics, many of whom had been attracted, no doubt, by the festivities that were being held in nearby Toledo, where the cortes had convened to do homage to the

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<sup>1</sup>They were published at Madrid, 1908, under the title, Sinodo de Talavera, Año 1498.

<sup>2</sup>Vallejo, p. 22.

young Isabella and her husband, the King of Portugal.<sup>1</sup> The place of meeting was the palace of Juan Ayala, a friend of Ximenez who was on this occasion also his host.<sup>2</sup> Each day the sessions were opened with a solemn pontifical mass that Ximenez himself celebrated. Included among the distinguished guests were a number of speakers of note, chief among them being Gregorio Castillo, a pontifical judge who won the admiration of all attending and especially of Ximenez.<sup>3</sup>

The resolutions adopted were summarized into nineteen canons that covered such widely unrelated subjects as the private life of ecclesiastics, public worship and catechetical instruction, and matters for the welfare of the entire diocese.<sup>4</sup> The first canon decreed that a diocesan synod should be held annually and was to be attended by all commissioned to it or they were to be fined ten florins to help defray the expenses of the Synod. By the third canon ecclesiastics were permitted to confess and absolve each other, even in those cases ordinarily committed to a bishop, so as to be enabled to offer the sacrifice in the mass. By other regulations priests of parish churches were required to instruct

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<sup>1</sup>Prescott, p. 247.

<sup>2</sup>Vallejo, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup>ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Hernando de Espinosa, Cisneros, p. 7, declares that this Synod was the model for the Council of Trent.

children on Sundays in the doctrines of the Church according to the Catechism which Ximenez himself wrote, or to be subjected to a fine of two reales (canon iv). Every Sunday after the offering, the Gospel for that day was to be explained to the worshippers, or at least was to be read; priests not complying were to be fined two reales for each Sunday it was omitted (canon v). The custom of taking holy water on entering the Church, which had long since been neglected, was resumed.(canon vi). The ninth canon ordered that the paten should be taken to the laity to kiss, at mass, as a sign of peace, and thereby restored a custom which had been revoked by Carrillo. In order to safeguard the spiritual welfare of those who had been excommunicated, particularly as a result of indebtedness, the requirements for absolution in certain cases were liberalized and priests were enjoined to absolve all who had made satisfaction of the principal and costs and were forbidden to collect fees for such absolution (canon xi). Canon twelve sought to expedite litigation against ecclesiastics by ordering all ecclesiastical and lay judges to render immediate judgment on matters of minor importance, without making use of any writ; in other cases, they were to carry on proceedings as much as possible by word of mouth. In grave cases, where the accusation was a serious one, judges were still required to expedite the judgment and to respect as much as possible the honor of the Church.

Canons thirteen and fourteen struck at the immoral life of the clergy. The first of these two dealt with the pernicious practice of beneficiaries remaining absent from their prebends for long periods of time and still collecting their revenues; the Synod ordered that all persons enjoying the revenues of a certain benefice should establish their residence in the locality of that benefice and anyone absent for more than one hundred and twenty days of any one year, without special permission, would be required to surrender the revenues for that year. The second of these canons grappled with the perennial problem of concubinage; it ordered all vicars and diocesan visitors to admonish all ecclesiastics known to possess concubines to dismiss them at once; ecclesiastics failing to comply, were to be arrested and not released until special order had been given by Ximenez.

But perhaps the most celebrated regulations, albeit not the most important, which were productive of the greatest good in the diocese were those which created "registers" of vital statistics in all parishes in which the local priests were to enter the names of all baptized children, together with those of their parents and godparents; of all persons married, with a complete description of both bride and groom; of all divorces and their circumstances; and of all deaths (canons xv, xvi, and xviii). These regulations were passed in an effort to curb the practice of criminal divor-



ces, often made under pretext of alleged relationship, and to remove many difficulties arising out of questions of inheritance. Priests were further ordered to take a census of all parishioners at the beginning of each Lenten season, and to record the names of all who had confessed and communed between that date and the twentieth day after Easter. Such records were to be sent to the Archbishop at Toledo or to his vicar at Alcala. They were also required to state whether they and their assistants had been at all times in residence in their parish or benefice during the same period (canon xvii).

The remaining canons dealt with festivals and their observance and with minor matters pertaining to the well-being of the diocese.

Notwithstanding that these regulations were not so all-inclusive or stringent as one might anticipate originating in a Synod presided over and influenced by such a dynamic and zealous prelate as Archbishop Ximenez, nevertheless Gomez has assured his readers that even in his day they were strictly adhered to.<sup>1</sup> This is more than can be said of the attempted reforms of Carrillo or Pope Alexander.

As an aid to the priests in fulfilling some of the demands of the Synod, Ximenez himself wrote a catechism to be used in the indoctrination of children.<sup>2</sup> It was an exceed-  
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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 26.

<sup>2</sup>Retana, vol. i., p. 279

ingly brief one that did not include such important subjects as the sacraments, for example, as Ximenez was of the opinion that such subjects required maturity of thinking to understand them properly and more fittingly belonged to catechism intended for adults. In it he strictly adhered to the ancient traditions especially in the interpretation of the Apostles' Creed and taught that each of the twelve Apostles had contributed an article to it. His explanation of the Articles of Faith suggests a slight fear of Arianism for he construes the articles dealing with the Godhead to mean as follows: "Article two: to believe that the Father is God means that He was not created, nor begotten, nor made. Article three: to believe that the Son is God, means that He is eternally begotten by the Father. Article four: to believe that the Holy Spirit is God, means that He is proceeding equally from the Father and the Son."

His zeal for reform was directed also toward the correction of other abuses in his diocese. Shortly after his arrival in Toledo, he took cognizance that many women because of poverty had sought refuge in convents and had taken the veil without a fitting sense of vocation following which they had become quite unhappy. He further discovered that also because of poverty many young women were driven to a life of sin and dishonour. In order to remedy this double evil, he founded at Alcala the Convent of San Juan, adjacent to which he established a house of charity, called "Santa Isabel", that was to be a home for impover-

ished girls and where they could live until reaching a certain age. They then had the choice of either getting married or of devoting themselves to a religious life: if their choice was the former, they were given a dowry from the revenues of the house, but if the latter, they were then received into the Convent of San Juan.

Other benefactions of Ximenez included the establishment of four hospitals, eight monasteries, and twelve churches, as well as many charitable acts which he daily performed for individuals. He daily fed at his palace about thirty poor people, he distributed dowries to distressed women, and frequently visited hospitals when his time would allow. He also took an active interest in charitable institutions that had been established by other hands than his own. Notably among these was a hospital for poor people that had been established at Toledo by two persons of the middle class, Jeronimo Madrit and Pedro Zamalea, whose sympathies had been enlisted in behalf of the unfortunates of their city for whom no medical provision had been made. During the famine of 1505, Ximenez provided it with more than 4,000 bushels of corn to be distributed among the poor. This was in addition to the valuable gifts of provisions and money which he annually made.<sup>1</sup>

It is quite problematical to what degree these reforms

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<sup>1</sup>Hefele, pp. 222 ff.

endured once the iron hand and will of Ximenez were stilled by death, despite the eulogia of his ardent admirers. It is quite certain, however, that even though they did endure for a time in the diocese of Toledo, they did not spread into other dioceses nor did they become general enough to make any notable impression. Concubinage continued to flourish unabated. The Council of Seville, held in 1512, was obliged to repeat the usual denunciations against relaxed ecclesiastics, and enact legislation prohibiting many of their common practices including that of officiating at the marriage of their children.<sup>1</sup> Ribadaneira, the disciple of Ignatius Loyola, tells us that the priestly concubines of Spain were so accustomed to pledge their faith to their consorts, as if united in wedlock, and to wear the distinguishing costume of married women, as though glorying in their shame, that St. Ignatius was greatly scandalized on his return to his native country, in 1535, and exerted his influence with the temporal authorities to procure the enactment and enforcement of sundry laws in an effort to relieve the Spanish Church of so great an opprobrium.<sup>2</sup>

Some ten years later, Alphonso de Castro asserts the priesthood was one of the efficient causes for the spread

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<sup>1</sup>Lea, History of Sacerdotal Celibacy, vol. ii, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., p. 175.

of heresy, and that it would be quite difficult for orthodoxy to maintain itself without the direct intervention of God, in view of the general corruption and worthlessness of all orders of ecclesiastics, whose excessive number, turpitude, and ignorance exposed them to contempt. His contemporary, the canonical lawyer Bernardino Diaz de Lupo, finds in the universality of concubinage a partial reason for its condonation and warns judges not to be too severe lest they drive ecclesiastics into darker sins. And the Inquisitor-General Valdes relates that when he became Archbishop of Seville, in 1546, he found the clergy and dignitaries of the cathedral so demoralized that they had no shame in their children and grandchildren: their women lived with them openly as though married, and accompanied them to church, while many kept in their houses gaming tables that were patronized by the most disorderly characters. In an attempt to remedy these evils, he instituted the most rigorous reforms but was greatly impeded and put to much expense by endless litigation in Rome and in Granada, and in the Royal Council and before apostolic judges.<sup>1</sup> And though the Inquisition took care that Spain should not be much troubled by heretics, yet the Synod of Orihuela, in 1600, declared that the concubinage practiced by ecclesiastics was the principal source of popular animosity against them.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., p. 176.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., p. 236.

The greediness of ecclesiastics and their desire for monetary gain in connection with their ministry was as ineffectively curbed. Juan de Valdes, brother of the secretary of Emperor Charles V, bitterly denounced the Spanish clergy. Scarcely anything, he said, could be obtained from Christ's ministers except by money; "at baptism, money; at bishoping, money; at marriage, money; for confession, money; no, not even extreme unction without money! They will ring no bells without money, no burial in the church without money; so that it seemeth that Paradise is shut up from them that have no money. The rich are buried in the church, the poor in the church-yard. The rich man may marry his nearest kin, but the poor man not so, albeit he may be ready to die for her. The rich may eat flesh in Lent, but the poor not, albeit fish perhaps be dearer. The rich man may readily get large indulgences, but the poor none, because he wanteth money to pay for them."<sup>1</sup>

And evidences have come to us, that at least in a few instances similar conditions prevailed in the diocese of Toledo shortly after the death of Ximenez, that presaged a general relaxation even in that diocese. The historian Lea points out, in the voluminous work from which we have

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<sup>1</sup> Flick, The Decline of the Medieval Church, vol. ii., p. 343.

quoted,<sup>1</sup> that in 1535, Alonso de Valdemar, a priest of Almodovar was tried on serious charges by Blas Ortiz, vicar-general of the Archbishop of Toledo and, having been found guilty, received a sentence wholly incommensurate with the charges and one that forbode the return of a general relaxation. The charges fully proved against the priest included the seduction of two of his female penitents and his refusal of absolution to a third unless she would surrender to him, besides a miscellaneous assortment of crimes - theft, blasphemy, cheating with bulls of indulgence, charging penitents for absolution, and frequenting brothels. For all this he was sentenced to a fine of two ducats and the cost and fees of his trial, and to thirty days seclusion in the church to repent of his sins and fit him for celebrating mass, after which he was free to resume his flagitious career.

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<sup>1</sup>Lea, History of Sacerdotal Celibacy, vol. ii, p. 254.

## C H A P T E R      F O U R

### THE FALL OF GRANADA - THE CONVERSION OF THE MOORS

The second of January, 1492, has become one of the most memorable dates of modern European as well as of Spanish history. On that day the Moorish Kingdom of Granada ceased to be an independent state and for the first time in almost eight centuries the entire Iberian Peninsula was ruled over by Catholic sovereigns. When the Arabs invaded Spain at the beginning of the eighth century, they practically overran the Peninsula meeting very little opposition at the hands of the demoralised and disunited Spanish forces. Slowly, but persistently, they were later pushed southward until by the middle of the Thirteenth Century their dominion had shrunk to the Kingdom of Granada where for more than two hundred years they were able to overcome the united forces of the Spanish monarchs.

Notwithstanding the liberal treatment that the Spaniards had received at the hands of the Saracen invader and the many contributions which he had made to their civilization, his presence was a constant source of irritation.

Contrary to their usual custom, the conquerors had adopted, as a whole, a policy of tolerance. Such Christians as desired to remain in the conquered territory were per-



mitted to do so in undisturbed possession of their property. They were given freedom of worship, were allowed to intermarry with Arabs, to fill certain offices, and to govern themselves by their own laws when they did not contravene Moorish justice. Indeed, about the only difference in their treatment, outside of the occasional persecution arising from Oriental despotism or popular fanaticism, was their required payment of heavier taxes than their Moorish neighbors.<sup>1</sup>

This inequality was more than offset by the many salutary effects the Arabs had on Spanish civilization. They introduced into the Peninsula various tropical plants and vegetables; they cultivated cotton on a rather extensive scale and improved the woolen industry to such an extent that their textiles became the staple of an active commerce with the Levant and although their development of the silk industry did not compare with their cotton and woolen, it had attained quite an enviable reputation. They were also noted for their sugar which was produced in such large quantities that it formed also one of their principal exports.<sup>2</sup>

The extraordinary productivity of their soil was not due so much to its natural fertility as it was to the ap-

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<sup>1</sup> Prescott, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., p. 186.

plication of time-tried principles of agriculture that were a part of the Moor's heritage born out of the struggle his ancestors had with the arid wastes of the African and Arabian deserts. An elaborate system of irrigation, with ditches criss-crossing the land, carried the waters of the Xenil to the remotest point of the "vega" that was capable of productivity so that while other regions of Spain remained sterile, the lands of Granada became noted for their amazing fertility.<sup>1</sup>

But agriculture was not the only source of their natural wealth. They had discovered rich veins of precious metals in the rugged Sierra Nevada mountains and, prior to the discovery of America, the Spanish Peninsula was to the rest of Europe what her colonies afterwards became, the great source of mineral wealth. It was from these metals that the Moors minted their coins which were noted for their purity and elegance.<sup>2</sup>

Noteworthy of consideration are also the advances the Spanish Arabs made in the fields of letters and sciences and which left a definite stamp on European civilization. Notwithstanding the little recognition that these branches of

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<sup>1</sup>Many of these irrigating ditches are still in use and the flow of water through them is regulated to this day by the ringing of a bell at the Alhambra (the Author).

<sup>2</sup>Prescott, p. 191.

learning received elsewhere in the Arab world, they attained a high standard of development in Cordoba, and later in Granada, due to the presence of certain favorable conditions which were conducive to the propagation of learning. Chief among these were a temperate climate, more propitious for intellectual and cultural growth than the sultry regions of Arabia and Africa; a long coastline with numerous protected ports that encouraged an active commerce and intercourse with other European nations; and their proximity to more enlightened peoples whose philosophy and ideals percolated into their life to ameliorate the superstitious beliefs, inhumanitarianism, and other shortcomings of Mohammedanism.<sup>1</sup>

These favorable circumstances created a widespread interest in education. Colleges, academies, and gymnasiums multiplied at an astonishing rate and were to be found not only in the more populous centers but in remote and obscure villages as well. As many as fifty of these schools and colleges were to be found in the immediate vicinity of Granada alone. History, mathematics, logic, metaphysics, chemistry, pharmacy, and medicine were but a few of the subjects taught in an astonishing comprehensive curriculum. In fact, such proficiency had they attained in the last two subjects that they were commended above all others for their

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., p. 195.

adroitness in the practice of medical sciences.<sup>1</sup>

Although their philosophy of fatalism prevented their making a worthwhile or lasting contribution to the moral sciences, it did not prevent them from doing so in other fields of endeavor. They are credited with introducing algebra and higher mathematics into their schools, whence they diffused all over Europe. They were the first ones to bring to Europe the art of making paper, without which the invention of printing could not have been a success.<sup>2</sup> And they were the first, perhaps to their discredit, to introduce gunpowder into the military sciences.

They exercised a similar influence over the literature of the day. When they invaded the Peninsula, the Arabs brought with them their Oriental wealth of hyperbole and fantasy which they clothed in the most elegant language. Their poetry and prose alike abounded in exquisite figures of speech and in refinements of style. Their many rhyming dictionaries, grammars, and philological treatises reveal the extent to which they had elaborated the art of composition. Unhappily, they seldom employed their writings as the vehicle for moral or philosophical ideas but were content to make them an exhibition of their histrionic effusions. Their poetry, espec-

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., p. 196.

<sup>2</sup>Manuscripts of cotton paper dated as early as 1009 have been discovered in the Escorial, and of linen paper, of the year 1106. Prescott, p. 197.

ially, was extremely florid, abounding in vivid imagery described with a bold, impassioned, and colourful verbiage, and enhanced by sparkling metaphors and conceits. And despite the absence of profundity of thought, the style of their literature left a pronounced impression on the literature of Spain that is even manifest in the Spanish literature of today.

Notwithstanding these many salutary contributions that the Moors made to Spanish life, they ever remained a hated and ostracized people almost entirely on religious grounds. They were the victims of a religious bigotry that had blinded Spaniards to the true values of life and had convinced the latter that their most cherished possession should be the martyr's crown. In the perennial warfare between Moor and Christian, at times fought with an intense fierceness, both camps suffered untold loss of human life and material resources. Such a wholehearted bitterness had been engendered that both Moor and Christian taught their children, even from earliest infancy, to hate and despise the other and seek his undoing.<sup>1</sup> Psychologically, it was impossible for the Spaniard to recognize any good in Moorish life and he therefore denied himself many advantages

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<sup>1</sup> So deep-seated was this pernicious teaching, that as late as thirty years after the fall of Granada, St. Theresa of Avila, then only seven years of age, left her home in company with her brother, to search for the martyr's crown.

that otherwise might have been his and whatever benefits did accrue unto him were his in spite of his attitude and not because of it.<sup>1</sup>

In view of the general contempt with which the Moor was regarded and of the unusual piety and zealousness of Queen Isabella, it was therefore inevitable that when she ascended the throne of Castile she should anxiously await the day when the Moslems should finally be defeated and banished from the Peninsula so that thenceforth the only trace of them should be found in the annals of history. Since, however, certain conditions of amity existed between Castile and Granada, consummated during the latter part of the reign of Henry the Second when this monarch strengthened the cause of Aben Ismail of the Moorish Kingdom, Isabella had to await the propitious moment, the occurrence of an incident violating the truce, that would justify her march onto Granada. It should be added, however, that her interests in the southern Kingdom were not solely religious. The fertile plains, that had been made to become so productive, and the rich ores of the Sierra Nevada mountains were not to be overlooked in her program of strengthening the economic life of the

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<sup>1</sup> Prescott laments the utter indifference that even eminent Spaniards had shown toward important Arabic documents that were lodged in their own libraries. It was only after a severe fire in the Escorial, in 1671, had consumed about three quarters of a magnificent collection of Oriental manuscripts there deposited, that the Spanish government caused a catalogue of the remaining documents to be made. Prescott, p. 201, note.

united Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. And if, in fighting a religious crusade Spain should gain an uninterrupted coastline on the Mediterranean with a number of well protected ports, so much the better.

The much looked for provocative incident was not long in occurring and took place at a most opportune time from Spain's point of view.

Aben Ismail was succeeded, in 1466, by his son Muley Abul Hassan who was of a far different temperament from his father. Even before his accession, and when still a very young man, he made an unprovoked inroad into Andalusia in violation of the truce then in force. After his father's death, when he became ruler of Granada, he was prevented from taking part in foreign wars because of domestic troubles that demanded his entire attention. Nevertheless, he still maintained his feeling of animosity against the Spaniards and took no pains to hide his contempt for them. When, in 1476, he sought a renewal of the truce with Spain and the sovereigns demanded as a condition the payment of the annual tribute which had been made by his predecessors, he proudly answered that "the mints of Granada no longer coined gold, but steel,"<sup>1</sup> and thereafter gave ample proof that he was not jesting at the time. On the night of December 26, 1481, he boldly attacked the small fortified town of Zahara, on the border of Andalusia and, under cover of darkness and a storm, surprised the unsuspecting garrison

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<sup>1</sup> Prescott, p. 203.

after scaling the walls without his approach having been noticed. He ruthlessly killed such guards as offered any resistance and swept the entire population, men, women, and children, into Granada and slavery.

Smarting with humiliation, the Catholic sovereigns became convinced that the moment to deal the crushing blow that would end the Moorish Kingdom had at last arrived. All her domestic troubles having been settled, Spain found herself in an admirable position to carry on an intensive campaign. Moreover, Granada was torn by internal strife. Muley Abul Hassan had brought about a partial disintegration of his kingdom by resigning Malaga to his brother Ez-Zagal, later known as Mohammed XII. He had also caused a rift in his household on marrying a young Spanish slave, Isabel de Solis, who had embraced Islam under the name of Zorayah. When Abul Hassan's first wife 'Aisha saw her influence with her husband weakened, she became fearful lest the right of succession and even the lives of her two sons, Mohammed Abu 'Abdallah (Boabdil) and Yusuf, might be endangered. Both Abul Hassan and 'Aisha won for themselves the sympathies of the two most powerful families of Granada. The Zegrís supported the King but the Abencerrages sympathized with 'Aisha and, so bitter had the feud grown between the two families that some of the latter seem to have paid for their sympathy with their lives.

Ferdinand and Isabella very quickly perceived the ad-



vantage that had become theirs and utilized these internal dissensions among the Moors to further what had now become the dominant aim of their reign following the disastrous fall of Zahara. Their opportunity for retaliation soon presented itself with their capture of Alhama, deep in Moorish territory and only eight leagues distant from Granada, where they found a well stocked store of grain, oils, and other supplies. When Abul Hassan sought to win back the town, his wife 'Aisha took advantage of his absence from Granada to flee the city with her eldest son, going first to Albaicin and thence to Guadix, where Boabdil was at once proclaimed king. Buffeted on one side by the Spaniards and on the other by his own people, Abul Hassan was unable to resist the violent struggle with Boabdil and, following his defeat, retired to Malaga.

Despite the Moorish revolution, the Spanish armies were unable to make any appreciable progress against the well fortified mountainous regions of Granada. The capture of Boabdil, at Lucena, in 1483, completely changed the situation. He submitted to a restrictive treaty and agreed to neutrality while Ferdinand pursued his campaign against Malaga. The capitulation of Velez, April 27, 1487, and the surrender of some twenty towns between it and Malaga, brought general rejoicing through the Spanish ranks. But this rejoicing was short lived as Malaga offered a most stubborn resistance. Advance after advance of the best of the Spanish forces were repelled for more than three months

and Malaga finally capitulated only because disease and starvation had claimed a greater toll than had the onslaughts of the Spaniards.

Meanwhile, Boabdil's religious and patriotic feelings again gained the ascendancy over his desire for revenge and personal power and, in 1486, he resigned Granada to his uncle Ez-Zagel, who had succeeded Abul-Hassan as the last heroic leader of the Moors, and contented himself with the possession of Loja. In defense of this place, however, he again fell into the hands of Ferdinand and, pledging himself once more to neutrality, he returned to Granada, which Ez-Zagel had acquitted to go to the relief of Malaga. Following the fall of Malaga, Baza and Almeria, the last refuge of Ez-Zagel, the Spaniards required Boabdil to fulfill his compact previously made and to evacuate Granada. Conscious too late of his mistake, he endeavored to rally his scattered forces for one last desperate stand.

The Spanish campaign now settled on Granada and, in anticipation of a protracted siege, the Catholic Kings resolved to abandon their temporary encampment opposite Granada, and almost under its very shadow, and to build on its site a permanent town. The soldier was thereafter converted into artisan and in less than three months the town was completed and it was given the name of Santa Fe. When Boabdil saw the progress that was being made and became convinced that Granada would suffer the same fate that Malaga had, his courage failed him and he resolved to surrender voluntarily rather than be compelled to do so by starvation. He

apprised Ferdinand of his decision and signed the articles of capitulation at Santa Fe, November 25, 1491, which provided for the Spaniards' taking over the city the following January 2nd.<sup>1</sup>

Elaborate preparations were made to celebrate that memorable occasion that marked the fall of the last stronghold of Mohammedanism in the Peninsula. At the appointed time, the sovereigns left Santa Fe amid great pomp and splendour and accompanied by a spectacular retinue of ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries. Just outside the city walls, they were met by the dejected Boabdil who surrendered to Ferdinand the keys to the Alhambra after which he joined his family who had preceded him with their most valuable effects and were already on the route to the Alpujarras. As he was crossing the Sierra Nevada mountains, he turned for a last look at the city he had lost. Tears filled his eyes as he gazed, and his stern and more masculine mother, 'Lisha, taunted him with the words which have since become legendary, "Weep not like a woman for what you could not defend like a man."<sup>2</sup>

The fall of Granada sent a thrill of joy through the whole of Europe; it was looked upon as a compensation for

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<sup>1</sup>For a full description of the War of Granada, see Galindez Carvajal, Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos; Zurita, Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catolico, vol. v; Viller, Historia General de España; La Fuente, Historia General de España, vol. vii; Prescott's Historia of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, etc.

<sup>2</sup>Prescott, p. 298.

the loss of Constantinople nearly half a century before. When the news arrived in England, during the reign of Henry the Seventh, all nobles and prelates then in London were summoned to the church of Saint Paul where in great solemnity they were apprised of the Christian victory after which the Te Deum was sung. But nowhere was the rejoicing more heartfelt than in Rome. In the night of February 1st, the first news arrived in Rome, written to the Pope by Ferdinand himself. The rejoicings, both secular and religious, lasted for several days. Pope Innocent VIII went in solemn procession from the Vatican to the church of Saint James, the patron saint of the Spaniards, where a mass of thanksgiving was celebrated, at the end of which he gave the papal benediction. Cardinal Raffaele Riario gave a dramatic representation of the Conquest of Granada and the triumphal entry of Ferdinand and Isabella; while Cardinal Borgia entertained the Roman people with the novel spectacle of a Spanish bull-fight, which had never before been presented at Rome.<sup>1</sup>

In consideration of the voluntary surrender of Granada by Boabdil, the articles of capitulation, though similar to those of Malaga and Baza, were more liberal in their import and granted greater privileges. The inhabitants of Granada were to retain their mosques and were given complete free-

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<sup>1</sup>  
Pastor, vol. v, pp. 314-15.

dom of worship; they were to be governed by their own laws and judged by their own magistrates, subject, however, to the supervision of the Castilian governor. They were to retain full possession of their property, disposing of it at their own will, and were not to be discriminated against in the matter of taxation. Moreover, they were to be granted the same guarantees of civil liberty enjoyed by the Spaniards and no attempts were to be made to reform their ancient customs, manners, usages, and dress.

In view of subsequent events, it is quite fitting at this point to set down in full several of the articles of capitulation which later became the subject of much bitter dissension.<sup>1</sup> Article 4 declared: "It is hereby set forth and agreed that Their Highnesses and their descendants shall forevermore allow the said King Muley Baaudili and his governors, etc., great or small, to live according to their law. They shall not be deprived of their mosques nor houses of prayer nor muezzin nor towers from which said muezzin shall call forth the hour of prayer but shall retain possession of their mosques and whatever properties at present may be in their possessions and all revenues derived therefrom. They shall be judged according to their

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<sup>1</sup> Antonio del Villar, in Appendix xxvii of his Historia General de España, pp. 715 ff., gives the terms of capitulation in full. Also, Marmol de Carvajal, Historia del Rebelion y Castigo de los Moriscos del Reino de Granada, pp. 146-50.

own laws and governed by their own council according to Moorish customs and shall be permitted to continue their own good customs and usages."

"12. Item, It is hereby affirmed and agreed that no Christian shall venture within the house of prayer of the said Moors, without permission of the rulers; violators shall be punished by Their Highness."

"30. Item, That it shall not be permissible for any person, either by word or deed, to ill-treat any Christian man or woman who may have become Moorish prior to this treaty. That if any Moor shall have married a renegade woman, she shall not be forced against her will to become once more a Christian but shall be interrogated in the presence of both Christians and Moors, and shall follow her own pleasure. And the same shall be observed as to boys and girls born of a Christian woman and of a Moorish husband."<sup>1</sup>

"31. Item, That if any Christian man or woman shall have previously become Moorish, no person shall dare to threaten or insult him in any respect; violators shall be punished by Their Highness."

"32. Item, That no Moorish man or woman shall be forced to become a Christian."

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<sup>1</sup>The word "Moorish," as used in the treaty and elsewhere in their dealings with the Moors, refers solely to their religious beliefs and not racial characteristics.

"33. Item, That if any married woman, or widow, or maiden shall wish to become a Christian for the sake of any attachment she may have, she shall not be received until she has been interrogated and warned of all that will be involved; and if she has taken any property or jewelry from her parents' house, or elsewhere, it shall be restored to its owner and the guilty party shall be brought to judgment."

"42. Item, That if there be any dispute between a Christian and a Moor, such dispute shall be brought before both a Christian judge and a Moorish judge for settlement."

The beneficent terms of this treaty, guaranteeing the unmolested enjoyment of ancient Moorish customs and religious practices, were conducive to an unexpected public tranquillity in spite of the motley population of Christians and Moors, and an intermixture of both, that made up Granada. This peaceful state of affairs was further encouraged by the happy selection Isabella had made in intrusting Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, the Count of Tendilla, and Fernando de Talavera, with the civil and ecclesiastical government of the city.

The former of these two personages was the most distinguished member of that illustrious Spanish family and was noted for his many diplomatic and military services to the crown. His perspicacity, shrewdness, liberal points of view, and extraordinary firmness when the occasion demanded it,

admirably qualified him for the position of alcaide of Granada and captain-general of Castile.<sup>1</sup>

The latter, though of a more humble lineage, was also peculiarly equipped for his difficult task of preventing Spanish Catholicism, on the one hand, from becoming obnoxiously aggressive, and on the other, of making it so winsomely attractive as to draw the Moors to Christianity. He belonged to the order of the Hieronymites, and had been prior of the monastery of Santa Maria del Prado, near Valladolid, whence he went to the Spanish court to become confessor to Isabella and, later, to the King.<sup>2</sup> It was in the latter capacities that the sovereigns learned to appreciate his unusual piety, his amiable manners, and distinguished learning. Moreover, he was free from all traces of bigotry, had a high sense of human brotherhood, and seems to have been motivated in his dealings with his fellowmen, whether Moor of Christian, by a sincere desire to exemplify in his own life the teachings of his Lord. When he was elevated to the archdiocese of Granada, with his characteristic humility, he steadfastly refused to accept the increased emolument which the sovereigns wished to grant him notwithstanding that the revenues of this see were less than those of the bishopric

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<sup>1</sup>Galindez Carvajal, Anales breves, p. 279; Prescott, p. 449.

<sup>2</sup>It will be remembered that his elevation to the episcopacy had made vacant the office of confessor to the Queen and Ximenez' subsequent appointment to that office.



of Avila from which he had been transferred.<sup>1</sup>

Talavera approached his new tasks with an unusual insight and sympathy for the Moors which was the more amazing in view of the intolerant spirit that then prevailed.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding his advanced age, he began the study of the Arabic language and required the clergy of his diocese to do the same. Being convinced of the power of the Sacred Word to remake human nature, he immediately caused several portions of the Gospels to be translated into Arabic, looking toward the eventual translation of the entire Bible. At the same time he had an Arabic grammar and vocabulary compiled. To these he later added a translation of the Liturgy and of the Catechism. His intentions were, obviously, to provoke a gradual and certain infiltration of Christian truth into the life of the Moors that would compel their acceptance of the Christian faith not so much through outward compulsion as inward constraint. But of greatest merit, however, in winning the Moors to Christianity was the exemplification in the life of the Archbishop of the Christian virtues. His purity of life and remarkable tolerance for his fellowmen, as well as his open appreciation of the several sterling qualities of the Moors, soon won for him their friendship and later on their admiration as the "great Alfaqui of the

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<sup>1</sup>Prescott, p. 449.

<sup>2</sup>Marmol Carvajal, lib. i; cap. 21 and ff.

Christians", as they often called him.<sup>1</sup> As a result of his labors many came voluntarily seeking baptism.

This liberal policy that was being pursued by Talavera did not meet the approval, however, of many of the more zealous Spanish prelates who were demanding that sterner methods be used to bring about a more rapid conversion of the Moors. Indeed, hardly had Ferdinand and Isabella taken possession of Granada than many of the ecclesiastics began to urge them to give their new subjects the alternative between baptism and exile. By some peculiar process of reasoning, they had concluded that such a step would not be an infringement on the treaty so recently signed as the Moors would be so richly benefitted through the eternal salvation of their souls and Spain would be assured of a more lasting peace. The sovereigns, however, rejected these counsels, "just and holy as they were," and preferred to abide by their royal word, particularly for the time being, as their new subjects had not altogether laid down their arms and such vigorous measures would undoubtedly provoke a new war. Moreover, they had other conquests in view which they did

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<sup>1</sup> In referring to the Moors, Talavera would say, "They ought to adopt our faith and we ought to adopt their morals." They were temperate and frugal. There were no beggars among them, for they took affectionate care of their own poor and orphans; they settled all quarrels between themselves and held it to be unlawful to prosecute each other before a Christian tribunal. In short, they constituted the most desirable population that any land could possess. Their good qualities were converted into accusations by their Christian persecutors. Lea, The Moriscos of Spain, p. 7.

not want jeopardized by any unnecessary altercations with the Moors and, as the work of conversion had commenced so auspiciously, they had hoped it could be completed in good faith.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the consistent progress being made by Talavera in converting the Moors, as is evidenced by the fact that as early as the year 1493 a mosque in the district of Teruel and Albarracin was converted into a Christian church,<sup>2</sup> the opponents of the Archbishop's broadminded policy sought every opportunity to disparage his efforts. Their position was further strengthened by two or three minor Moorish revolts which were eagerly seized and greatly magnified by the zealous ecclesiastics.<sup>3</sup> The sovereigns nevertheless pursued their former course of adhering to the spirit as well as to the letter of the treaty and, even after the arrival of Ximenez in Granada, issued several ordinances which permitted the continuance of certain Moorish customs though in contravention of the laws of the land.<sup>4</sup> In spite of the pressure of the more intolerant Spaniards, they remained content to offer as the only inducement to the conversion of the Moors a more

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<sup>1</sup>Marmol Carvajal, Rebellion de los Moriscos, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup>Lea, The Moriscos of Spain, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup>Bernaldez, Cronica de los Reyes, Cap. cii.

<sup>4</sup>Of these, one was a pragmática dated Granada, October 30, 1499, prohibiting silk apparel of any description but which excepted the Moors whose robes, among the wealthy classes, were made of that material. Prescott, p. 451, note.

paternalistic interest in their welfare and a greater protection of their personal rights.<sup>1</sup>

With a view of ascertaining through personal observation the progress being made in integrating the Moors into Spanish life, the sovereigns resolved in the year 1499, to repair with their court to Granada. They left Madrid in May and arrived at the Moorish capital in July<sup>2</sup> where they were given an enthusiastic reception by both Moors and Christians.<sup>3</sup>

The tranquility of the city and the happy intercourse between Moors and Christians, despite the barriers of race and religion, as well as the steady progress Talavera was making in winning the Mohammedans to Christianity, made a profound impression upon the King and Queen. They were greatly disappointed, however, over the small number of converts and became rather impatient with the slowness with which progress in this direction was being made,—Isabella

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<sup>1</sup> As a preventive measure against the disinheritance of Moorish children who had become converted to Christianity, the sovereigns issued a pragmática, October 31, 1499, which prohibited a son being disinherited because of a change in religion. In addition, provision was made for granting a dowry to daughters of Moors who had embraced Christianity out of the property that had been acquired by the State after the conquest. Prescott, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Galindez Carvajal, Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos, Año 1499.

<sup>3</sup> More than thirty thousand Moorish women turned out to greet them, all of whom were dressed in their best finery. Retana, vol. i, p. 229, quoting Anonimo de Osuna, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 70.

because of her genuine interest in the spiritual welfare of the Moors, and Ferdinand because he well knew the hindrance that such a powerful religious minority, though at the time subjugated, could be to his political schemes. Hence, they summoned Ximenez to Granada, who was at the time busily engaged in erecting the University of Alcala, to seek his counsel in accelerating the conversion of the Moors and their integration into Spanish life.

Ximenez immediately dropped his work at Alcala and, entrusting his companion Baltanasio with the continuance of the University,<sup>1</sup> left for Granada where he arrived in October.<sup>2</sup> There he was apprised of the sovereigns' keen disappointment over the apparently meager results of Talavera's work and of their desire for him to assist the latter in converting the Moors. Meanwhile, Talavera, who had become informed of the monarchs' request, instead of taking umbrage at this obvious criticism of his methods, with his characteristic humility readily assented to the plan and eagerly sought not only the counsel but also the assistance of the Archbishop of Toledo.

It was humanly impossible, however, for two individuals of such divergent personalities and temperaments to agree in

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 29.

<sup>2</sup>It was not because of his officiousness, as implied by Prescott, p. 451, that he went to Granada. He was too occupied with one of his pet schemes, the University of Alcala, to become voluntarily embroiled at that particular time with the disturbing Moorish problem. But once at Granada, however, he did not turn his back on the opportunity of taking an active part in the conversion of the Moors.

methods of procedure and to work together harmoniously. Ximenez, having a sterner and more positive nature than his co-worker, soon lost patience with the gentleness and tolerance evinced by Talavera in dealing with the Moors. He favored more severe measures and believed them to be not only necessary but justifiable in view of the fact that they not only had to contend with unconverted Moors but also with Christians who, being once of the faith, had apostatized to become Mohammedans and were, therefore, subject to the Inquisition into whose hands he wished to commit them. Hence, he planned to deal summarily with the latter and to win the former by every persuasive means at his command even to descending to bribery if that were necessary.

When he conferred with the sovereigns to inform them of his proposed plans, they became greatly disturbed lest, blinded by his zeal, he take steps which would incur the enmity of the Moors, destroy the goodwill won by Talavera and, perhaps, provoke a rebellion. Hence, before the court departed for Seville (November, 1499) the monarchs gave explicit instructions to the prelates to continue the temperate policy hitherto observed and to refrain from giving any occasion for discontent to the Moors.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, Ximenez had begun a systematic assessment of all the churches and monasteries of his diocese to defray the costly gifts with which he proposed to entice the Moors to

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<sup>1</sup> Gomez, fol. 29.

Christianity. This added exaction, over and above the contributions already being regularly made for winning Granada to Spain,<sup>1</sup> met with considerable opposition among the ecclesiastics, particularly among those of the wealthier monasteries who were being taxed the heaviest. In one instance, that of the Monastery of Guadalupe, their resentment was so aroused that the Chapter resolved not to pay the assessment as a lawful tax, which in their opinion neither Ximenez nor even the Pope himself had the power to levy, but to make an equivalent contribution only as an "offering of charity." When the news of the Guadalupe Chapter's disaffection reached Ximenez, he hastily sent them a message to the effect that such a tax was being levied by the sovereigns and not by himself. Nevertheless, as everyone was aware that in these matters the sovereigns took no action without the counsel of the Archbishop, no one was deceived by such an evasive answer and all contributions thereafter were made under protest.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding that Ximenez had been summoned to Granada to act only in the capacity of assistant and adviser of Talavera, to whom, after all, had been entrusted the ecclesiastical administration of the new diocese, no sooner had the sovereigns retired from the city than he began to assume

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<sup>1</sup> A special tax had been collected annually for several years to defray the expenses of winning Granada back to Spain.

<sup>2</sup> Retana, vol. i, p. 232.

complete command of the situation wholly disregarding the rights and presence of Talavera. At once he invited to his palace the leading "alfaquis," or priests of the Moors, and through interpreters, expounded to them daily the truths of Christianity and the errors of Islam. "But at the same time, in order that his instructions might make some impression on their sensual minds,"<sup>1</sup> he distributed gifts among them where they would be most effective and yield the greatest returns.<sup>2</sup>

As a result, many professed Christianity and consented to baptism but whether they did so through the arguments or the gifts of Ximenez is highly problematical.<sup>3</sup> What is most likely is that many of the Moorish doctors, whose faith in Islam was only nominal any way, found it more profitable to accept Christianity than they had anticipated and were quite willing to admit the errors of their religion and submit to Christian baptism. This public manifestation of their conversion had, however, a tremendous influence over the Moorish masses, insomuch that the entire population of Albaicin expressed a desire to become Christian and sent an appeal to Ximenez for him to baptize them and consecrate their mosques

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<sup>1</sup>Hefele, p. 62, thus exculpates this questionable procedure and reflects the opinion of most Romanists.

<sup>2</sup>Vallejo, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup>Robles, with unusual candor, opines that it was due to the latter, "Alfin," he says, "con halagos, dadivas y caricias, los truxo al conocimiento del verdadero Dios" (Finally, with presents, flattery and cajolery, he brought them to a knowledge of the true God), p. 100.



and make of them Christian churches.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding that the aggressive methods of Ximenez had not as yet violated the letter of the treaty by actually forcing Moors to become Christian, although it had come perilously near it, many of the more zealous Mohammedans were of the opinion that the lavish gifts which were being bestowed by Ximenez, and other inducements to Christianity, were tantamount to a moral coercion which, if not violating the letter of the treaty most certainly violated its spirit. Hence, they for their part, undertook a similar campaign of aggression in which they incited the people against Ximenez and the Church, as well as against the Spanish government, so much so that a revolt appeared to be imminent.

While such a condition of affairs might have been the signal to a man of a less imperious temper than Ximenez' to proceed with greater caution, it proved to be otherwise for him. Flushed with success and motivated by fury rather than prudence, he determined to overcome his opposition, however formidable, by resorting to whatever means were at his disposal even to trampling under foot both the letter as well as the spirit of the treaty, if necessary. Hence, he ordered the arrest of the most influential of the Mohammedan leaders and had them cast into prison where he was prepared to keep them in chains until such time as they consented to

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<sup>1</sup>Zurita, Historia de Don Hernando, folio 172.

baptism.<sup>1</sup> Chief among these was a certain Zegri Asaator, a learned Moorish noble of a considerable following, who had been loudest in his denunciations of the high handed procedure of Ximenez.<sup>2</sup>

Ximenez intrusted the task of converting these contumacious Moors to his chaplain Peter Leon, "a lion by nature as well as by name"<sup>3</sup> who deftly preached to them daily. When after several days he saw no softening of their dispositions, having the consent of Ximenez, he resorted to more strenuous measures. Particularly was this true in his dealings with Zegri whom he subjected to such fetters and fastings, as well as other hardships, that at the end of twenty days his prisoner was quite willing to subject himself to baptism as a price for his release. At his request, therefore, he was taken before the Archbishop whom he informed that "on the preceding night Allah had revealed to him the error of his ways and had ordered him to receive instant baptism." Then he added, "Your Reverence has only to turn this Lion loose among the people (referring to the chaplain Leon) and it wouldn't be many days before there

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<sup>1</sup>Vallejo, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup>Marmol Carvajal, op. cit., Lib i, Cap. 24; Vallejo. pp. 33, 34.

<sup>3</sup>Gomez, fol. 29.

would not be one Mohammedan left in Granada."<sup>1</sup> Zegri was shortly thereafter baptized and was given, at his request, the name of Gonzalo Fernandez Zegri in honor of the "Great Captain", Gonzalo Fernandez, against whom he had fought valiantly on the plains of Granada, and for whom he had had a great admiration.<sup>2</sup> This act of faith on the part of Zegri was not without its compensations as Ximenez rewarded him with an annual emolument of fifty thousand maravedis besides appointing him to various positions of responsibility which he discharged with great faithfulness.<sup>3</sup>

Following the baptism of Zegri, the conversion of the Moors grew apace. Influenced on the one side by the public profession of such a noted personage as Zegri, and on the other by the ruthless measures of Ximenez, great numbers of Moors sought baptism, insomuch that on the 15th of December, 1499, scarcely two months after the arrival of Ximenez, between three and four thousand presented themselves at one time.<sup>4</sup> Unable to baptize so great a number individually, Ximenez had to resort to the expedient of baptizing them by -----

<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 30; Vallejo, p. 34; Marmol Carvajal, Historia del Rebelion...., Lib. i, Cap. 25.

<sup>2</sup>Vallejo, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup>Vallejo, pp. 34, 35.

<sup>4</sup>Both Vallejo, p. 33, and Quintanilla, p. 55, state the number to have been three thousand (the latter also dates the occasion December 16, instead of 18). However, Gomez, fol. 29, Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. i, cap. 24, and Robles, pp. 100-01, declare the number to have been four thousand. This latter figure is more likely the correct of the two.

aspersion, or scattering the consecrated water from a mop which he twirled over their heads.<sup>1</sup> And by the end of the year, according to Carvajal, the conversion of Granada was complete.<sup>2</sup>

But not satisfied with this triumph and motivated by a zeal that was akin to fanaticism, Ximenez resolved to destroy at one stroke all traces of the hated Mohammedan religion. Hence, he ordered the sequestration of all copies of the Koran and other books, and, having caused them to be piled in the Bibarrambla square, opposite the episcopal palace, he consumed them in a huge bon-fire.

Such an audacious auto de fe, with few parallels in the pages of history, has subsequently been the subject of much acrimonious debate. Sympathizers with the Romanist point of view of ecclesiastical supremacy, have seen in his conduct only that which is laudatory and have loudly praised his wanton destruction of precious manuscripts on the grounds that they were heretical and infidel.<sup>3</sup> Others, however, with Protestant or anti-Romanist leanings have severely censured him for his fanatical and indiscriminate destruction

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<sup>1</sup>Marmol, loc. cit., Gomez, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup>Anales, year 1499, p. 550.

<sup>3</sup>Vallejo, p. 35; Hefele, p. 65; Retana, vol. i, pp. 239-40. Indeed, the latter writer makes the astonishing statement that "no one shall ever be able to place any barrier before apostolic zeal which is above all laws and treaties."

of all Arabic writings which he could procure, including those on science and many others that were beautifully and sumptuously bound, and have compared him to Omar and his ruthless burning of the great library at Alexandria eight centuries before.<sup>1</sup>

But let us view the facts as we are able to marshall them before us. Marmol Carvajal, probably the most authoritative of the contemporary writers, states that "he took a great number of Arabic volumes, of all kinds, and, burning those which pertained to the doctrine (Mohammedan), he ordered the others bound and sent them to his College of Alcala de Henares, to be placed in its library."<sup>2</sup> Vallejo, who was also an eye witness, declares that "in order to eradicate completely the perverse and iniquitous religion, he commanded the "alfaquis" to collect all Korans and other private books, as many as they might be, which were more than four or five thousand volumes, large and small, and he burned them all, among which were bindings of silver worth eight or ten ducats, although some sought to save the parchments and paper and bindings.... And thus they were all burned excepting a few books on medicine, of which there were many, and of these His Reverence saved thirty or forty volumes which today are to be found in the library of the -----

<sup>1</sup> Prescott, pp. 453-54.

<sup>2</sup> Marmol Carvajal, Rebelion de los Moriscos, Lib. i, Cap. 26.

College and University of Alcala."<sup>1</sup> Gomez also mentions the rich bindings but assures his readers that they were mostly copies of the Koran that were burned, "that is to say, the most troublesome book of their religion, and the rest, manuscripts of their infidel Mohammedanism."<sup>2</sup>

To this testimony must be added also that of a document not long since uncovered at the National Archives of Simancas. It is a decree of Ferdinand, given in 1511, ordering the confiscation of all heretical books and in which, in referring to the auto da fe of Ximenez, says in part, "that at that time all Moorish books which should contain Moorish doctrine should have been brought to our justices to be burned and that only the books of medicine and philosophy and chronicles should have been retained in their possession ..... but now there has come to our attention that there is in possession of the newly converted many proscribed books and manuscripts, which have been concealed among those of medicine and others," wherefore, all books were then ordered to be delivered to the authorities who were commanded to burn those pertaining to the religion (the Moorish) and to return the rest.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Vallejo, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 30.

<sup>3</sup>Retana, vol. i, p. 242, quoting Archivo General, Libros de Camara, Num. 27, fol. 17. See also, Simonet, Cisneros y los Manuscritos Arabigo-Granadinos, p. 18.

According to the foregoing testimony, excepting for that of Vallejo which is not wholly clear, the assumption may be made that only Korans and Moorish devotional books were burned. This assumption, however, takes on a different color when we consider the number of volumes destroyed. According to Vallejo, their number "was more than four or five thousand"<sup>1</sup> and Gomez, in following him, declares that it "was nearly five thousand."<sup>2</sup> Flechier, whose source was probably Gomez, definitely places the number at five thousand.<sup>3</sup> But according to Conde, however, the number was 80,000,<sup>4</sup> while Porreño who wrote within a few years after Gomez and also made an exhaustive and independent study, states that Ximenez "collected whatever Korans of Mohammed he could put his hand to and many other books pertaining to that religion, which were more than one million, one hundred thousand."<sup>5</sup> Robles, a trifle more conservative,<sup>6</sup> and the author of the "Suma de la Vida de Cisneros",<sup>7</sup> credit

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<sup>1</sup>Vallejo, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup>De Rebus Gestis.... fol. 30.

<sup>3</sup>Historia de el Cardenal.... p. 122.

<sup>4</sup>Conde, (El Nubense, Descripcion de España, p. 1, note) quoted by Prescott, p. 453, note.

<sup>5</sup>Dos Tratados Historicos, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup>Vida del Cardenal, p. 67.

<sup>7</sup>Manuscript in the possession of Prescott, History of Ferdinand and Isabella, loc. cit.

the burning only of one million, five thousand volumes.

There is scarcely any data for arriving at the true number. Obviously the figures given by Vallejo, Gomez, and Flechier are too low in view of the fact that Granada was the capital of the Kingdom and the most likely depository of the many books and manuscripts that had accumulated through the ages. It is also most likely that the estimate of Robles and Porreño is greatly exaggerated. Prescott,<sup>1</sup> gives greater credence to the figures of Conde than to any other as have also most of the writers who have come after him.

But if that number be correct and the number of converts was 70,000, as stated by Bernaldez,<sup>2</sup> although Quintanilla places it at only 20,000,<sup>3</sup> we are faced with the conclusion either that there was one or more copies of the Koran or other religious book owned by every Moor baptized, a most unlikely situation, or among the books which were burned were included a great number of others. This latter conclusion is furthermore strengthened by Vallejo's testimony and also by the strong probability that such a large scale confiscation of books would not permit a close scrutiny of all volumes by the limited number of Christians who were acquainted with the Arabic language.

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<sup>1</sup>Prescott, History of Ferdinand and Isabella, p. 453, note.

<sup>2</sup>Bernaldez, Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos, Cap. clx.

<sup>3</sup>Quintanilla, Archetipo....., p. 56.



The extremes to which Ximenez had resorted evoked widespread consternation among the more temperate Spaniards residing in the city who begged him to use greater forbearance and who severely condemned him for his obvious violations of the treaty. Ximenez, however, refused to listen to their entreaties and continued with his uncompromising policy, justifying it by declaring that "a tamer policy might, indeed, suit temporal matters, but not those in which the interests of the soul were at stake; that the unbeliever, if he could not be drawn, should be driven, into the way of salvation; and that it was not time to stay the hand, when the ruins of Mohammedanism were tottering to their foundation." He accordingly went on with unflinching resolution.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, Moorish resentment against the Archbishop was growing at a feverish rate and was only awaiting some unfavorable incident to break forth into violent rebellion. Such an incident was not long in arriving. In the early part of January, 1500, Salcedo, the major-domo of Ximenez, and two others, one of whom was the alguacil Velasco de Bar-  
rionuevo, went to Albaicin to arrest a young woman who had apostatized from Christianity to bring her before the Inquisition, already established at Granada. When the trio and their prisoner were crossing the square of Bib-el-Bonut, the latter began to cry out that they were going to compel

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<sup>1</sup>Prescott, p. 454.

her to become a Christian against her will. Immediately a great crowd gathered and excitement ran high. In the melee that followed, Barrionuevo, who had already incurred the odium of the Moors because of his contemptuous attitude toward them on former occasions, was struck on the head with a tile and killed. His companion suffered a similar fate but fortunately Salcedo was rescued by the providential intervention of a Moorish woman who rushed him to her house where she hid him under her bed until he could escape under cover of darkness.<sup>1</sup>

The news of what had taken place spread through Albaicin like wildfire. The whole town became a seething mob ready to seek reprisals. Streets were barricaded and as much of the citizenry as could become armed and ready for any eventuality. Toward evening, their fury unabated, and convinced that Ximenez was responsible for their harsh treatment, they resolved to storm the episcopal palace that night, taking advantage of the darkness and their numerical superiority over the small garrison of Spanish soldiers stationed at Granada.

As soon as it became apparent what the Moors proposed to do and that the life of Ximenez was in jeopardy, his friends begged him to seek safety in the Alhambra, the former palace and fortress of the Moors, built on a high rock above the city. Ximenez, however, refused to listen to them, explaining that

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<sup>1</sup>Marmol Carvajal, Rebellion de los Moriscos, Lib. i, Cap. 25-26.

if it pleased God he would much rather suffer with them the martyr's lot than to find safety.<sup>1</sup>

But whether the building proved too strong for their efforts or whether their ardor was diminished by the cool of the night, the mob accomplished little more than to occasion a few hours of awful suspense for the ecclesiastics within and to make them realize somewhat the seriousness of the situation that Ximenez had precipitated. The next morning the count of Tendilla appeared in person at the head of his guards and succeeded in driving the insurgents back to their quarters of the city.

All efforts to quell the revolt were in vain with the Moors steadfastly maintaining, meanwhile, that they were not rebelling against the sovereigns but were endeavoring to protect their treaty-given rights. When on the third day a messenger of Tendilla was stoned by the Moors and they gave no evidence of reconciliation, the venerable Archbishop Talavera resolved on going himself into their very midst to exhort them to reason. Accompanied, therefore, by a few clerics and his chaplain, the latter bearing the crucifix aloft, and all of them unarmed like himself, Talavera made his way to Albaicin. The appearance of the mild and much beloved Archbishop had a salutary effect upon the Moors. Their heated passions were quickly cooled as they pressed about the -----

<sup>1</sup>Vallejo, pp. 35, 36.

benevolent man of God, and many of them knelt and kissed the hem of his robe as if seeking his blessing.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as Tendilla was apprised of the unexpected turn of affairs, he himself proceeded to Albaicin, attended only by a handful of soldiers who, like himself and the Archbishop who had preceded them, were unarmed. When he arrived at the place where the crowd had assembled, he threw his bonnet into their midst as an indication of his peaceful mission.

Confident now that both Talavera and Tendilla were truly seeking a peaceful settlement and, being reminded of the just and mild rule which the latter had uniformly exercised, the Moors at once became more tractable. Taking advantage of their new position, both men reminded them of the folly of trying to resist so great a power as the Spanish monarchy; they exhorted them to disarm and return to their homes and duties; and they promised them to intercede in their behalf in both seeking their pardon and an amelioration of their grievances. As an evidence of their sincerity, Tendilla committed to the Moors his wife and their two children as hostages.<sup>2</sup> These measures, which even the most hot-headed of the Moors recognized as being altogether equitable, restored the town to its former tranquillity. For their part, the leading alfaquis pledged their support of law and order,

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<sup>1</sup>Marmol Carvajal, op. cit., Cap. 26.

<sup>2</sup>ibid.

notably among whom was Cidi-Cebona who ordered the arrest of the principals involved in the murder of Barrionuevo, four of whom were subsequently hanged.<sup>1</sup>

Peace having been restored, Ximenez resolved to write the sovereigns at once a full account of what had taken place and of the fortunate termination of the affair, lest they become unduly alarmed over the exaggerated notices which he believed would surely reach their ears. In his search for a swift messenger to carry his letter to the court, he met a Castillian grandee, Cisneros by name although not a relative of the Archbishop, who offered the services of a negro slave who, it was said, could travel twenty leagues a day and could therefore arrive at Seville the following noon.<sup>2</sup> To this one Ximenez intrusted his important document but, unfortunately, the fellow became so intoxicated on the way that he did not arrive at Seville until five days later.

Meanwhile, however, news of the insurrection had reached the sovereigns through other channels but it was only of a general nature and much of it so garbled that the impression was had that Granada had been seized and was once again in the possession of the Moors.<sup>3</sup> On hearing this, King Ferdi-

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, vol. i, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup>Vallejo, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup>Gomez, fol. 31.

nand, who had never become reconciled to the appointment of Ximenez as Archbishop instead of his son Alfonso, took this opportunity of venting his fury. Turning to the Queen, he said: "So, this is the predicament into which your Archbishop has placed us. That which we and our predecessors won with such difficulty and at the price of so much blood has been lost in a few hours by his rashness. Dearly we are to pay for your Archbishop."<sup>1</sup>

Greatly perturbed because she had not heard directly from Ximenez, Isabella wrote him an urgent letter demanding an explanation of the entire affair and, particularly, his reasons for not informing the sovereigns of so serious a situation. The Archbishop discovered too late his mistake in trusting such an important missive to an unknown slave and immediately dispatched his companion Ruiz to Seville with instructions to offer a full explanation of what had taken place and also to prepare the way for his coming. And so satisfactorily did Ruiz fulfill his mission, that the fears of the sovereigns were appeased and Ximenez was restored to their favor.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly thereafter, Ximenez himself went to Seville to give a detailed account of the revolt. He recapitulated all the events leading up to it; he reminded the sovereigns of

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<sup>1</sup>Vallejo, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>ibid.

his many efforts to win the Moors through kindness before resorting to severity; he told of the many arguments he had used, the many gifts he had made, the large sums of money he had expended. He freely admitted having disregarded the instructions the sovereigns gave prior to their departure from Granada but justified himself by claiming that it was only because of his great zeal for the salvation of the Moors. He did not, however, admit his having violated openly the treaty made with the Moors but rather condemned them for having done so in taking arms against Spain and in slaying the servants of the crown.. This conduct, he pointed out, manifestedly involved them in the guilt and, consequently, in the penalties, of treason, and it would be a kindness for the sovereigns to offer them as the price for their pardon the alternative of conversion or exile.<sup>1</sup> Both sovereigns were greatly moved by the eloquent apology made by Ximenez in his behalf, Isabella, because it appealed to her religious piety, and Ferdinand, because it substantiated his opinion that it would be a greater service to God and to himself for the Moors to remain Moors elsewhere than to be such Christians as they were in Spain.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding the many reports that were now pouring in regarding the peaceful conditions then prevailing at

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 32.

<sup>2</sup>Lea, The Moriscos of Spain, p. 40.

Granada, Ferdinand resolved to go to that city, ostensibly to make it a royal visit but really for the purpose of making a personal investigation of conditions and strengthening its small garrison. He accordingly departed for Granada accompanied by a greater detachment of soldiers than usual for such visits, most of whom remained there upon his subsequent departure. While he was there, to accelerate the process of conversion, he issued, February 26, 1500, a general pardon to all conversos for crimes committed prior to baptism, remitting the royal rights over person and property accruing by reason of such crimes. At the same time, however, he made no secret of his great displeasure over the former unlawful means used in promoting Christianity, particularly, as they interfered with his designs on Naples which required all his forces.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the happy settlement of affairs at Granada, conditions elsewhere in the former Moorish Kingdom were quite alarming, especially among the inhabitants of the rugged Alpujarra Mountains, south east of the city. Anticipating a similar fate to their brethren at Granada, they had forestalled it by a general insurrection, seizing all the fortresses and strong passes throughout the country and beginning a series of disastrous raids in the lands of the Christians. In the hope of checking this movement, Ferdinand

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., pp. 37, 38.



dispatched Tendilla and Gonsalvo de Cordoba against the insurrectionists at the same time that he wrote the leading Moors, January 27th, assuring them that all reports that they were to be forcibly converted were false and pledging his word that none should be compelled to receive baptism. But remembering only too well the little merit of such pledges, they turned a deaf ear to Ferdinand's proposals and, not having too much faith in his own word, Ferdinand with all speed raised a great army, crushed all resistance and at once compelled the rebels to agree to baptism and the payment of a 50,000 ducats fine.<sup>1</sup> All terms of the treaty were now overlooked and Ferdinand himself embarked on a campaign of intimidation and terrorism as reprehensible as that of Ximenez which he had condemned. At Andarax, the principle mosque, in which women and children had sought refuge, was blown up with gun powder. At the fall of Belfique, all the men were slain and the women were enslaved as was also the entire population of both Mijar and Guejar, excepting the children under eleven years of age who were delivered to Christians to be brought up in their homes and in the faith. As a result of these severe measures, ten thousand Moors sought baptism at Seron, Tijola, and other places.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., pp. 38, 39.

These severities, instead of striking terror in the hearts of the Moors elsewhere, did little more than fan into flame their hatred for the Spaniard and his method of evangelism. Notably was this true among the Moors of the Sierra Bermeja and the district of Ronda, west of Granada, who broke into open revolt and initiated a series of predatory raids on the Christians nearby. Furthermore, they successfully repulsed all attacks of the Spaniards, inflicting on them heavy losses. In view of the seriousness of the situation, and against all remonstrances, Ferdinand resolved to take the field himself at the head of his army. This move convinced the Moors of the hopelessness of their cause and they were quite ready to sue for peace. Ferdinand saw at once his opportunity of dictating the terms of peace and, though he was tempted at first to make them extremely humiliating and retaliatory, he later allowed prudence to get the better of his passions. Moreover, his past experience had convinced him of the hopelessness of enlisting the loyalty of a Moslem toward a Christian ruler; hence, he offered the conquered rebels the alternative of voluntary baptism or exile and, for such as should choose the latter, he promised transportation to Africa on the payment of ten doblas of gold a person.<sup>1</sup> Large numbers of Moors availed themselves of this privilege, preferring to expatriate themselves than to adopt a religion that was so hateful to them.

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<sup>1</sup>Marmol Carvajal, Rebellion de los Moriscos, Lib. i, Cap. 28.

Despite the fact that, outwardly at least, all Granada had now embraced Christianity and its every mosque had been consecrated into a Christian church, Spain had not wholly purged herself of the presence of Islam as scattered throughout many parts of the kingdom there were still Moors who had already been established there before the fall of the southern kingdom. These were believed to be a constant menace to the sovereigns' program of integrating the Moors into Spanish life and, in order to prevent their having a pernicious influence over the new converts, Isabella and Ferdinand issued an ordinance, in the summer of 1501, prohibiting all intercourse between them and their brethren in Granada.

The final step in this tragic chapter of Spanish history was taken the following year when, February 12, 1502, the sovereigns issued at Seville, the celebrated pragmática that sealed for the Moors the same fate which had been sealed for the Jews ten years earlier. By it all unbaptized Moors in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, fourteen years of age or over, if males, and twelve, if females, were ordered to leave the country by the following April. They were allowed, however, to sell their property in the meantime and to take the proceeds with them, excepting in silver or gold or other prohibited merchandise. And, they were given complete freedom of emigration to any country, save to the dominions of the Turkish Sultan, or any parts of Africe then at war with Spain. Failure to obey these regulations subjected infractors to

death and the confiscation of their property.<sup>1</sup>

Even the probable number of those exiled is unknown, so little import did contemporary historians attribute to this final measure. Nevertheless, subsequent history has revealed the tremendous significance of the exile of the Moors and how disastrous it has proved to be for the welfare of Spain. Possibly no better evaluation of the results that followed can be found than that given by the historian Lea in his study of the Moriscos, which we quote in part:

"History affords few examples of retribution so complete and so disastrous as that which followed on the fanatic labors of Ximenez. The decadence of Spain was not caused merely by the loss of population in banishing Jews and Moriscos, for that loss could readily have been made up. It was that the Jews and the Moriscos were economically the most valuable of its inhabitants, whose industry in great part supported the rest. (2) The pride that was taught to regard work as unworthy an Old Christian and led the beggared hidalgo to starve rather than earn an honest living; the fanaticism that regarded religious unity as the summum bonum to be maintained at the cost of any and all sacrifice; the impulses that consigned so many thousands to a life of celibacy; a financial system so elaborately bad that in the effort to favor the consumer it well-nigh strangled production - all these united in preventing Spain from filling the gap in population and productiveness left by the expatriation of Jews and Moors.

"It is true that efforts were made to replace them by inviting foreigners to come as tradesmen and craftsmen, and in the larger cities many of them ministered to the follies

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<sup>1</sup>Prescott, pp. 469-70.

<sup>2</sup>A modern writer admits that the expulsion of the Moors reduced greatly the revenues of the churches and the nobles. In the dioceses of Valencia, Saragoza, and Tarazona, for example, there was scarcely a benefice of which the income was not cut down one-half, and they never returned to their former value. La Fuente, Historia Eclesiástica de España, vol. ii, p. 230.

and luxuries of the rich, but the      were birds of passage who carried with them such gains as they could accumulate, and no permanent settlement of desirable immigrants could be expected in a land where they were regarded as degraded by labor and were subjected to the sleepless supervision of the Inquisition for any careless word or any neglect of religious duty. The fanaticism which expelled the Jew and the Moriscos hung like a pall over the land, benumbing its energies and rendering recuperation impossible. Spain was the one land in which the Church had full opportunity to fashion at her will the lives and aspirations of the people, and the result is seen in the misery and decrepitude which blasted the illimitable promises of the opening of the sixteenth century. While the rest of Europe, in spite of wars and revolutions, was bounding forward in the eager competition of progress, Spain, sacrificing everything to religious unity, sank ever deeper in misery and poverty - a paradise for priests, and friars, and familiars of the Inquisition, where every intellectual impulse was repressed, every channel of intercourse with the outer world was guarded, every effort for material improvement was crippled. In vain the riches of the New World were poured into the hands of a race whose natural aptitudes were inferior to none, in a land of which the resources were as great as when Moorish ingenuity and industry rendered it the most flourishing in Europe. Great as were the undoubted services of Isabella the Catholic and Cardinal Ximenez, the latent evil in their work overbalanced the good, for they taught the nation that religious unity was the paramount object to be attained, and in the pursuit of this it sacrificed material prosperity and intellectual development." (1)

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<sup>1</sup> Lea, The Moriscos of Spain, pp. 398-401.

C H A P T E R      F I V EPROMOTER OF LEARNING - THE UNIVERSITY AT ALCALATHE COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT - CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

When Ximenez was summoned to Granada, there to counsel with the sovereigns on means of accelerating the conversion of the Moors, he was actively engaged in establishing the University at Alcala and, much against his will, he had to relinquish this work to other hands as he repaired to the southern kingdom.

In marked contrast with many of the ecclesiastics of the day, Ximenez had always manifested a sincere interest in the pursuit of learning. He had attained his education at the price of real sacrifice inasmuch as he was forced during his university days to engage in several gainful occupations to provide for his own needs as well as those of his family who were in financial straits. During his sojourn at Rome, instead of wasting his leisure time in the gratification of sensuous appetites, the common practice among those attached to the papal court, he devoted it to the study of theology and biblical lore and attained such proficiency in them that he was ordained to the priesthood. These studies he continued during his several years of incarceration at Uceda and Santorcaz and during his stay

at Sigüenza, Salceda and Castañar.

This interest in learning was not, however, solely restricted to himself. He had discovered its value and coveted its many advantages for others. Hence it was, that while at Sigüenza, he influenced his friend, the wealthy Juan Lopez de Medina, Archdeacon of Almazan, to establish the University of Sigüenza, since abandoned as such and continued as the College of St. Jerome. But it was only after his elevation to the episcopacy of Toledo, with its vast revenues at his command, that he obtained that full and free opportunity of establishing the many eleemosynary and intellectual foundations, for which there was a genuine need, as well as engaging in numerous other cultural activities.

In a former chapter mention has already been made of the plan he followed in the distribution of his immense income, one half of which was devoted to charity, one fourth for defraying the expenses of his household, and the remaining fourth for the establishment of churches, schools, and convents, the printing of books, and the promotion of other cultural interests. As a result of this systematic expenditure, he was able to leave behind him a greater number of these establishments than any of his predecessors and which have since become monuments to his zealous stewardship. It will be of interest to cite the principal ones: In Alcala, the Collegiate Church of San Justo y Pastor;

the Convent of San Juan de la Penitencia, for nuns; the College of Santa Isabel, for thirty two maidens of the nobility; the College of Santa Clara, and the famous University, in which were included several colleges. In Torrelaguna, the Convent Mother of God, and a hospital. In Illescas, a convent for Franciscan nuns. In Toledo, the Convent San Juan de la Penitencia; the Capilla Mayor and Capilla Muzarabe, in the Cathedral; and a convent for female Franciscans. And, in Oran, two convents and a hospital.<sup>1</sup> In addition, he published the celebrated Polyglot Bible, a number of missals, and other books. But of these all, his crowning achievements were the University at Alcala, and the Polyglot Bible.

No accounts have come to us of how soon during his episcopacy he conceived the establishment of a university. But it evidently was quite early for, although he did not assume the personal oversight of his diocese until September, 1497, before the close of that year, according to Prescott,<sup>2</sup> he had already taken the first steps toward erecting such an establishment at Alcala. This conclusion that he very early contemplated a university is further strengthened by an unsupported account that he had at first selected Torrelaguna, the town of his birth, as the site

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<sup>1</sup>Garcia Villada, Grandezas Españolas, pp. 35, 36.

<sup>2</sup>History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, p. 658.



for such a noble enterprise but was forced to change his mind because of the hostility of the town's people "who feared that the students would eat their grapes and destroy their vineyards."<sup>1</sup>

Whatever truth there may be to this report, it is quite apparent that Ximenez gave Torrelaguna no more than a passing thought since early in 1498 he sent Hernando de Herrera, Abbot of San Justo y Pastor, in Alcala, and Juan de Astudillo, one of his familiars, to the papal court at Rome to request the necessary enabling briefs that would permit the consummation of his plans.<sup>2</sup> After some delay, during which time their petition was twice revised, the first time December 22, 1498, and the second, April 13, 1499, the very same day on which the bulls were issued, the request of Ximenez was finally granted and he was permitted, by papal authority to establish at Alcala a university with the three faculties of theology, canon law, and arts.<sup>3</sup> In granting this authority, Alexander VI endorsed in full the reasons for selecting Alcala, as set forth in the petition itself, namely, that it was in the center of the diocese and comparatively close to both Toledo and Madrid, the latter already contemplated as the capital for the kingdom; that there was already there an

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<sup>1</sup>La Fuente, Historia de las Universidades de España, vol. ii, p. 48, note.

<sup>2</sup>Vallejo, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup>La Fuente, op. cit., p. 49.

episcopal palace; that there seemed to be an abundant supply of provisions; that the climate was healthy; and, finally, that there had already been established there schools of learning from antiquity.<sup>1</sup>

So certain had Ximenez been, however, that the bull would be issued that he had meanwhile engaged the services of Pedro Gumiel, the most celebrated Spanish architect of the day,<sup>2</sup> who, under the constant supervision and pressure of the impatient Archbishop, drew the plans for the buildings at the same time that he superintended the levelling of the ground preparatory to their erection.<sup>3</sup> This work had pro-

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<sup>1</sup> La Fuente, op. cit., loc. cit. This author has published the bull, though incomplete, in Appendix xiii, vol. ii., pp. 556-59. Vallejo, depending too much on his memory, is greatly mistaken in ascribing this bull to Julius II, who did not become Pope until November 1, 1503 (p. 53). Hefele, (p. 119) and others who have followed him, in believing that it was Julius and not Alexander who issued the bull, have made the gross mistake of dating it as late as 1504, which would mean that Ximenez would have been laboring as many as four years on his project without papal permission which, it is doubtful, even Ximenez would have ventured in doing in so important a matter. According to Gomez, who was probably also ignorant concerning the contents of the bull, it was issued in 1502. The school to which the bull refers, is one that had been established there in 1292 by Bishop Gonzalo Garcia Gudiel, having been sanctioned by King Sancho IV, the Brave. A century and a half later, Archbishop Carrillo transferred this school to the Franciscan convent of Santa Maria del Jesus, which he had established at Alcala and, although he had contemplated raising it to the status of a university, he did no more than to establish three chairs, one of Latin and two of humanities (Retana, vol. i, p. 218). It was here that Ximenez studied before attending Salamanca. Unhappily, the climate of Alcala did not prove to be as healthy as anticipated, which fact later compelled the University's removal to Madrid (La Fuente, op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 52, 53.)

<sup>2</sup>

The work was later completed by Rodrigo Gil de Hontañon.

<sup>3</sup>

Vallejo, p. 22.

ceeded with such dispatch that by the time the bulls arrived, everything was in readiness for the actual construction to begin. But scarcely had the foundation trenches been dug than Ximenez was summoned by the sovereigns to Granada. Much against his will, therefore, he relinquished to others the supervision of his undertaking while he repaired to the southern kingdom.

Despite his amazing activity at Granada, he yearned to be at Alcala. Hence, at his first opportunity, following the appeasement of the Moorish rebels at Granada, he returned to Alcala in time to lay the cornerstone of the principal building, the College of St. Ildefonso.<sup>1</sup> This ceremony, in which many prominent civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries had a part, took place in the afternoon of March 14, 1500, following an eloquent discourse by Ximenez himself. One of the participants was the celebrated Moorish convert, Gonzalo Zegri, who, having returned with Ximenez to Alcala, deposited in a hollow chamber of the stone a number of silver and gold coins, an image of a Franciscan monk, and a parchment containing the names of Ximenez and Gumiel, the architect, and a record of that memorable occasion.<sup>2</sup>

From that hour the work continued with rapid strides under the constant scrutiny of the Archbishop who was on the grounds every moment his many duties of Church and

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<sup>1</sup>It was so named after the patron saint of Toledo, for whom Ximenez had a great admiration.

<sup>2</sup>Vallejo, p. 31; Gomez, fol. 28.

State would permit. On many occasions he could be seen with measuring-stick in hand taking or verifying measurements or running lines; at other times he stimulated the workmen to greater activity by words of encouragement and numerous rewards. Even when required to be elsewhere because of circumstances or duties, he still kept in constant touch with the project through the instrumentality of Baltanasio, one of his subordinates, who kept him informed of the progress made.<sup>1</sup>

One of these absences, of greater duration than others, was occasioned by the arrival in Spain of Joanna and Philip, of Austria, who had gone there to be recognized as heirs to the Spanish throne. Ferdinand and Isabella, who were then in Seville, hastened to Toledo to meet them at the same time that they ordered Ximenez to that city where, in his capacity as chancellor of Castile, his presence was required for such an important event.<sup>2</sup> While at Toledo he was able to complete certain plans he had for the University and to obtain from the royal treasury an annual grant of considerable worth. Shortly thereafter he also obtained added privileges on the occasion of the birth at Alcala, March 10, 1503, of Prince Ferdinand, later Emperor of Austria. The infant Prince was baptized on the fifth day by Archbishop Ximenez, at which time the Queen bestowed so many favors on the new -----

<sup>1</sup>Vallejo, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup>Zurita, lib. iv, cap. lix.

University that the city of Alcala preserved Ferdinand's cradle as a memorial to her generosity.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the impatience and liberality of Ximenez, the work of erecting so pretentious an enterprise was necessarily slow. In addition to the principal building of San Ildefonso, which was to include lecture rooms and residential facilities for students able to provide for their tuition and maintenance, Ximenez had planned twelve other colleges,<sup>2</sup> in honor of the twelve Apostles, each of which was to provide for twelve poor students in liberal arts and sacred theology, and, in remembrance of the seventy two disciples, six other colleges where another seventy two students were to be supported for three years free of all expense.<sup>3</sup> The maintenance of all these students was to be derived from the revenue of the principal college. Also contemplated had been a hospital, likewise for financially distressed students, besides store rooms, shops, granaries, and other buildings necessary in the development of such a

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<sup>1</sup>Vallejo, pp. 59, 60.

<sup>2</sup> They are so called in the Bylaws, but were a college only in a loose sense. They were more akin to student boarding houses with limited facilities for study and special exercises. The students, for the most part, attended lectures given at the main college.

<sup>3</sup>Constituciones del Colegio, number 33, Archivo Historico Nacional. Retana, Cisneros y Su Siglo, vol. i, pp. 466 and ff. has quoted, practically verbatim, the more important articles.

vast undertaking.

Extensive improvements were also planned for Alcala itself, many of which took place simultaneously with the erection of the University. A great number of ancient buildings were removed to make way for new and wide avenues. The principal streets were drained of their stagnant water and paved, and many other necessary improvements for the better appearance and well being of the city were made.<sup>1</sup>

But it was impossible for Ximenez with the limited time and funds at his disposal to complete more than just a small portion of this gigantic venture. Nevertheless, at the time of his death he had succeeded in erecting such a huge establishment that when Francis I visited it a short time later, he was constrained to exclaim with profound admiration, "Your Ximenez has accomplished more than I should even have ventured to conceive. He has done single-handed what in France would have required a long line of kings to perform."<sup>2</sup>

The first building to be constructed was the Colegio Mayor de San Ildefonso. It was built of "tapia", a kind of mud cement, later replaced by stone and marble. It followed the general plan characteristic for that type of building, but was built around three courts instead of one. On the lower floor of the first one, were the principal lecture rooms of the University, where classes in Theology, Canon

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<sup>1</sup>Quintanilla, Archetype....., p. 178.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 79.

Law, and Medicine were held. Later on, the classes in Civil Law were added to these three. On the upper floors were the administrative offices, the library, refectory and dormitory. Facing the second, or middle court, were the lecture rooms in Philosophy, an Auditorium, a detention hall for law-infracting students, and a granary. In the third court was housed the department of languages and, later, the special College of the Three Languages.

According to the "Constitutions", or by-laws, the Colegio Mayor was to consist of thirty-three professors, in recognition of the number of years lived by Christ, all of whom were to be theologians. Not all, however, were to occupy professorial chairs as on some of them devolved the administrative duties of the University. In addition, there were to be twelve priests, or chaplains, who, though attached to the college, were not to do any instructing but had as their sole responsibility the conducting of divine service, the reciting of the canonical office, and the pastoral oversight of the students.<sup>1</sup>

Attached to the principal college, but separate from it, was the College of St. Peter and St. Paul, where thirteen Franciscan students and two lay brothers, supported entirely by the revenues of San Ildefonso, pursued their studies under the direction of the warden of the Franciscan convent at Alcala. Although not at first included in his plan,

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<sup>1</sup>Constituciones, number 1.

Ximenez was obliged to establish this school to meet a requirement of a papal brief issued by Alexander VI, November 14, 1500, whereby in granting permission to increase the number of faculties of the university, the stipulation was made that no expansion should be made to the injury of any institution of learning already in existence and, since the College of San Diego, founded by Archbishop Carrillo, was being absorbed by the University, this one was founded to take its place.<sup>1</sup>

Of the minor institutions, the Colegio Teologico was probably the most outstanding and the one which brought the greatest honor to the University. Its endowment provided for twenty-four students, eighteen of whom were in the department of theology and six in medicine, four servants, and a vice-rector. The prescribed course was for six years. During the first century and a half of its existence, it gave to Spain forty graduates who became bishops, twenty doctors who were the personal physicians of the monarchs, besides many other celebrities.<sup>2</sup>

Two other buildings housed the Colleges of St. Catherine and St. Balbina (which later gave Ximenez his Cardinal's title). Both were intended for forty-eight students of whom, in the former, half of that number studied Physics for two years while the other half studied Metaphysics. In

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, vol. i, p. 480.

<sup>2</sup>Retana, vol. i, p. 481.



the latter, were the students of Logic and Nominalism, the courses of which were also four years.

In addition, there was the College of St. Eugene, later named St. Ambrose, which provided for thirty-six students, thirty of them of the Latin language and six of the Greek. As this college was unable to meet the demands of those desiring to matriculate, a second college was established, the course of which was also of three years. Nearby, a hospital for poor students, also adequately endowed for their support, completed the group of buildings erected during the life of the Archbishop.<sup>1</sup> Forty years later, however, in compliance with his will, the College of San Ildefonso completed the unfinished College of St. Jerome, also known as of "the Three Languages" for thirty scholars, ten of whom studied Greek, ten Latin, and ten Hebrew. Adjoining this college was the "Paraninfo", a large and elegantly furnished amphitheatre, richly decorated in the "Mudejar" style, where the doctorates in all faculties were granted.<sup>2</sup>

The direction of all these colleges was vested in a Rector, who was also rector of the College of San Ildefonso. He was assisted by three counsellors who, like himself, were -----

<sup>1</sup>For a detailed description, see Retana, vol. i, pp. 476-483, also Gomez, fols. 88, 89.

<sup>2</sup>Although it has greatly deteriorated since the University's removal to Madrid in 1836, much of the College of San Ildefonso, the Paraninfo in particular, is in a remarkable state of preservation (the Author).

selected annually by the students from the faculty of San Ildefonso, and could be re-elected for a second term but could not serve for more than two consecutive terms. Although at first intended only to deal with the minor problems, they eventually became a kind of august senate that largely determined the policy of the institution by virtue of their power of nominating persons to nearly all the offices even including the professorial chairs. In addition to the rector, provision was made for a vice-rector in all the colleges and a chancellor of the university who conferred degrees and took part in examinations and other exercises.

There is a great diversity of opinion among the biographers of Ximenez respecting the number of chairs that he had established and the lecturers who had been engaged. Alvar Gomez, without going into further detail, mentions twelve courses: three of Theology, one of St. Thomas, one of Scotus, one of Nominalism; two of Logic and Philosophy; two of Medicine; one of Greek; one of Hebrew; one of Rhetoric; and two of Canon Law.<sup>1</sup> According to Robles, however, whom the greater number of writers follow in this matter, including Porreño, Prescott, and Hefele, among the principals, there were forty-two chairs "which our Archbishop established and endowed," classified as follows: six in Theology, six in Canon Law, four of Medicine, one of Anatomy, -----

<sup>1</sup>De Rebus Gestis....., fols. 80-83.

one of Surgery, eight of Philosophy, one of Moral Philosophy, one of Mathematics, four of Greek and Hebrew, four of Rhetoric, and six of Grammar.<sup>1</sup> Quintanilla,<sup>2</sup> in writing a few years after Robles, while enumerating the same courses, states their total number was forty-six, a discrepancy that may be attributed to a contemporaneous source which, in cataloguing the professorships at Alcala, does mention forty-six chairs, naming eight of theology, instead of six, and two in Holy Scriptures which do not appear elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

But according to the Constituciones (By-laws) of 1519,<sup>4</sup> it appears that up until 1517 appointments had been made to thirty-four chairs. Eight of these were at San Ildefonso, eight at Madre de Dios (Teologico), four each at St. Catherine and St. Balbina, and twelve, of grammar and languages, at St. Eugene and St. Isidore. This number was probably augmented, however, by at least one or two more which were presumably instructors at the College of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Ximenez applied himself with the same diligence to filling these chairs as he did to the erection of the buildings. He searched throughout Spain and elsewhere, particularly France, for the most able men in their respective fields and -----

<sup>1</sup>Robles, Compendio de la Vida....., p. 133.

<sup>2</sup>Quintanilla, Archetypo....., pp. 179-80.

<sup>3</sup>Fernandez del Pulgar, Vida y motivos....., quoted by Retana, vol. i, p. 485, note.

<sup>4</sup>Retana, vol. i, p. 484.

made them such generous offers that he had little difficulty in securing men of his choice, including several celebrated professors from the universities of Salamanca and Paris. Outstanding among the lecturers which were present on his faculty on the inaugural day were the following: Gonzalo Gil, or Egidio, lecturer in theology, a man of unusual perspicacity who was noted for his amazing powers of recollection, being able to quote verbatim long passages from the Fathers.<sup>1</sup> Pedro Ciruelo, instructor in the theology of St. Thomas, an indefatigable scholar who eagerly looked forward to public holidays and bull-fights so he would be left alone with his books. His classes enjoyed little popularity since, according to his own testimony, "the teachings of St. Thomas must be studied slowly and deliberately, but Spanish students prefer to study little, quickly, and with little effort."<sup>2</sup> Miguel Pardo, invited from the University of Paris, lecturer of logic and philosophy, a man of great promise but who later became quite a disappointment either because of his unwillingness or his inability to adapt himself to Spanish life.<sup>3</sup> Fernando Herrera de Talavera, professor of rhetoric and quite an original individual whose independent studies led him along intellectual paths different from the tradi-  
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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 81.

<sup>2</sup>ibid; La Fuente, Historia de las Universidades, vol.ii, p.69.

<sup>3</sup>Cartas del Cardenal, number 73.

tional ones of the day. On one occasion he became bold to disagree with Aristotle and thereby incurred the scorn and ridicule of his colleagues, all of whom had been taught to accept that philosopher's teachings in toto.<sup>1</sup> Tarragona and Cartagena, instructors in medicine, the latter the physician of many of the more illustrious personages of Spain, including royalty.<sup>2</sup> And, finally, perhaps the most celebrated of them all, Antonio de Lebrija, who had made a remarkable record as a student of languages at Salamanca and at Bologna, Italy, and who, on his return to Spain, had occupied the chair of Latin at the universities of Seville and Salamanca before coming to Alcala. He had also been appointed historiographer by Ferdinand and Isabella and later became one of the leading scholars engaged by Ximenez in editing the Polyglot Bible.<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding the reputation and scholarship of the many men he had engaged, Ximenez made two provisions to assure their alertness and zeal. First, their emolument was to be determined by the number of students they attracted to their classes and, in the event that there were no students, the only salary to be received was that derived from a benefice or some other office in the College. And, second, the tenure of office was to be for a period of four years, at the expiration of which time, each professor was required to

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 81.

<sup>2</sup>ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Prescott, p. 249; Hefele, p. 128.

be re-elected by the concursus.<sup>1</sup>

The rapid progress that was being made at Alcala was meanwhile viewed with grave concern by the University of Salamanca. They became alarmed by the prospect of having to share their hitherto undisputed position of influence with the newer yet magnificently endowed university. Apparently they had not at first given much consideration to the project, believing, no doubt, that it would be impossible for a single individual to establish in so brief a period an institution which would seriously challenge their place of pre-eminence. But as news of the vast undertaking began to reach them and of its approaching opening date, they became greatly concerned, so much so that on July 24, 1508, the faculty met and officially commissioned one of their number, Antonio de Aguilar, to hasten to Alcala, make a thorough survey of the enterprise, and report in full concerning the progress there made.<sup>2</sup> On his return he substantiated all reports which had been received with the result that the faculty of Salamanca resolved to appeal both to the Pope and to King Ferdinand at the same time that they en-

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fols. 82-84.

<sup>2</sup>This account of Salamanca's opposition to the new university is taken in its entirety from Retana's work, vol, i, pp. 457-61, the material for which was collected from the Libros de Claustros of the University of Salamanca. Gomez mentions this opposition but deals with it only summarily (De Rebus, fols. 94, 95).

listed the aid of influential members of the court. Satisfactory responses to their appeals not being forthcoming, the faculty again met September 7th, five weeks before the announced opening of Alcala, and decided to request both Ximenez and Ferdinand to establish the new school at Salamanca and appointed Ambrosio de Luna, one of their number, to convey this request to the Archbishop. In the event that such an audacious request were to be rebuffed, then he was to plead with the Archbishop to make Alcala only a college and not a university.

Ximenez was not greatly moved by such an overture from Salamanca coming on the eve of his university's opening and replied in essence "that if they feared that his university would jeopardize Salamanca and precipitate its decadence, they could well allay those fears by conveying to him their chairs of mathematics, philosophy, and theology out of which he would create another very excellent school." Gomez adds that he further requested that portion of the town adjacent to the Franciscan monastery so that, though annexed to the University of Salamanca they might, like the University of Paris, have their own rector and be self-governing.<sup>1</sup> Only under these conditions would he be willing to transfer his university to Salamanca and forsake Alcala.

Salamanca received his reply September 30th. October

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<sup>1</sup>De Rebus Gestis....., loc. cit.

2nd, the faculty again met for an impassionate discussion of this counter-proposal. A small minority was in favor of granting Ximenez his request but the great majority adhered to the position taken by the Dominican Peñafiel who invoked the wrath of God on any who should consent to such an impossible demand. Instead, they resolved to bring from Paris the most noted educators obtainable to prevent the emigration of their students to Alcala at the same time that they endeavored to win back their former colleagues who had joined the faculty of the new university. Meanwhile, Ximenez pushed forward his plans for the inauguration, set for October 18th, St. Lucas' day, the usual opening date for all schools.

In order to insure a successful beginning as well as to demonstrate to the academic world the high standards that he had set up for the new institution, Ximenez had requested Pedro de Lerma, abbot of San Justo, to deliver a series of lectures on Aristotle, beginning in August, to which a great audience had been attracted.<sup>1</sup> But even before these lectures began, many prospective students had made their way to Alcala where, on July 26th, they took possession of what buildings had already been completed and furnished. The following day they organized a solemn procession headed by Pedro de Lerma and what few prebendaries were already at Alcala, and

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 79.



proceeded to the Church of St. James, also established by Kimenez.<sup>1</sup> The number of students and others participating in this spontaneous demonstration was about five hundred. Although at first it had been frowned upon by Kimenez, he later approved of it and thereafter it became one of the traditions of the university. By October 18th, the entire faculty and from four to five hundred students had arrived at Alcala and, with the simplest of ceremonies, ill-befitting the inauguration of such a vast undertaking, the university began to function.<sup>2</sup> In order to assure its continuance, Kimenez endowed it with an annual revenue of fourteen thousand ducats. Through the efforts of his successors in the see of Toledo and of the crown, this endowment was steadily increased to thirty thousand, and by the middle of the seventeenth century to forty-two thousand.<sup>3</sup>

Kimenez demanded the same high academic standards from his students that he did from his faculty. Only those who

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 80; La Fuente, Historia de las Universidades.. vol. ii, p. 67, fixes the date as July 25th, as that was the day of Saint James.

<sup>2</sup>This is the figure by Gomez. Quintanilla, with his usual propensities to exaggerate, multiplies this number ten-fold and states there were four thousand students at the opening date, a figure not likely as at that time there were not sufficient facilities to provide for so many students. Moreover, by the year 1511, there were only two thousand students (Cartas del Cardenal, num. 76).

<sup>3</sup>Robles, p. 129. Quintanilla, Archetypo.... lib. iii, cap. xvii. The first of these amounts approximated £25,000; the second, about 54,000, and the last, 75,000.

could meet the rigorous requirements, and which excluded favoritism, could expect to be graduated. In addition to the regular class room work, all students were required to engage in public examinations and disputations which Ximenez himself often attended, particularly in the closing years of his life when he was becoming quite disgusted with public affairs. Following the standards of the leading European universities, he prescribed that the course in liberal arts or philosophy should be of four years; of canon law, six; of medicine, eight, the first four being devoted to arts and the last four to medicine, strictly speaking; the required course of theology was also eight years and, as in medicine, the first four were devoted to philosophy, the following two to biblical exegesis, and the remaining two to special exercises and disputations by which candidates were to prove their scholastic attainments and a thorough understanding of their ecclesiastical calling. The course in theology was in particular the most rigorous. The requirements for the doctorate included, besides the regular course and examinations, an oral ex tempore defense of questions propounded by the rector, faculty members and ecclesiastics of Alcala; a thesis to be delivered by memory; a theological dissertation that was to last an entire day and could be delivered only on the longest days of the year, i.e., between Easter and Pentecost; and an acceptable sermon in Latin. These

unusual requirements<sup>1</sup> were later made more liberal because of the tremendous nervous strain as well as physical discomfort to which the candidates were subjected.

No provision was made for courses in civil law as Ximenez recognized the undisputed superiority of Salamanca in this department and, rather than compete with it needlessly he determined to develop in his own institution a strong school of theology, the department in which all other Spanish schools were the weakest. Moreover, though he himself had been graduated in civil as well as in canon law and had been a recognized authority in jurisprudence, he had developed a strong aversion to it after his conversion to monasticism.<sup>2</sup>

Both because of these high academic standards and the several other inducements offered, a great number of students deserted other universities to attend Alcala, to the great hurt of these other schools. One of the first institutions to be so affected, was the nearby University of Sigüenza, established at the instance of Ximenez during his chaplaincy in that town. Fully aware that they could not possibly compete with such a better equipped institution,

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<sup>1</sup>Constituciones, nums. 38, 53, 48, 46, and 47. Hefele (p. 126) is in error in stating the course in theology was of ten years' duration, but is quite correct in referring to it as the most rigorous.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 82.

the faculty of Sigüenza made overtures to Ximenez to unite with Alcala. According to Vergara,<sup>1</sup> Ximenez turned a deaf ear to their suggestion out of respect to the memory of his good friend Lopez de Medina, Archdeacon of Almazan, who had founded that establishment. But despite his supposed interest in the welfare of that university, his own crippled it to such an extent that it shortly found it impossible to continue and was compelled to abandon the field.

The high demands which Ximenez made of his students were not so great, however, as to prevent them from taking part in many mischievous and malicious episodes that led to the inevitable conflict between "town and gown" and, at times, threatened the life of the university. The first notable one of these occurred during Holy Week, shortly after the inauguration of the University. A certain silversmith was on his way to be hanged, having been found guilty of committing a murder. As he was led to the gallows, in the presence of a great crowd of students who had gathered to witness the event, he suddenly appealed to them to prevent such an infamous act from being committed during such a holy season. Whether out of sympathy or out of deviltry, the students seized the condemned man, spirited him away and hid him in the Franciscan convent. When the townspeople indignantly complained to Ximenez concerning this

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted by Gomez, fol. 94.

unwarranted interference with justice, he blithely excused it as being "the bubbling over of the exuberance of youth." When they then demanded that the culprits should be punished, in order to appease them, he ordered one of the accused students to be lashed in public. This only aggravated the situation for the students, feeling that an injustice had been done to one of their number as well as to their honor, threatened to burn the village but were prevented from doing anything rash by the stern intervention of Ximenez. Greatly alarmed over the turn of affairs, the citizens of Alcala again demanded that the Archbishop punish the offenders and, although he promised to do so, he never did.<sup>1</sup>

Protected on the one hand by the patronage of Ximenez who seemed quite willing to forgive their transgressions, and on the other, by the indulgence of the Alcaide, who was appointed by the Archbishop and not by the citizens,<sup>2</sup> the insolence of the students grew apace. Moreover, even some of the faculty began to share their attitude and were overcome by a sense of their own superiority. At no time, during the life of Ximenez, was this more manifest than in connection with a visit King Ferdinand paid the University.

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 84; La Fuente, Historia de las Universidades.. vol. ii, pp. 72, 73.

<sup>2</sup>La Fuente, op. cit., loc. cit.

During the early part of 1514,<sup>1</sup> the sovereign went to Alcala to inspect the six year old college. While he was conversing with Ximenez and congratulating him on his accomplishments, the Rector of San Ildefonso, Fernando Balbas, attended by his beadles who carried their maces with great dignity and ceremony, came toward them to invite the King into the College. When the attendants of the King perceived this ostentatious display of pomp, which approximated if not surpassed that of the sovereign, they called out to the beadles to lay aside those insignia as ill-befitting the presence of royalty. There followed a moment of tenseness and, what might have been a regrettable situation was happily saved by the King himself who, while commending the zeal of his attendants also ordered them to show the respect due the customs of the university. The Rector, conscious then of his effrontery, cast himself at the feet of Ferdinand who received him kindly and accompanied him on a tour of the buildings and visited some of the classes.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez erroneously fixes the date of 1513, fol. 85. According to Carvajal, Anales., Ferdinand was in Madrid in January and February of 1514. Moreover, Balbas was not elected Rector of the University until October of 1513, as Gomez himself states (loc. cit.).

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 86, relates that the King visited every part of the establishment and showed particular interest in the public disputations. He is reported to have chided Ximenez for having built the principal walls of only clay, so ill-befitting an institution that was destined to last forever, to which Ximenez replied: "That is true, O King, but no one in so great a hurry could have done otherwise who, like myself, is rapidly nearing his grave; but unless I am badly mistaken, that which is now of clay will one day become of marble." His words came true twenty six years after his death by the action of the rector Turbalano who ordered the original façade to be torn down and to be rebuilt of marble.

Meanwhile, night had fallen and the King's pages had gathered to accompany him back with torches. While they were waiting, a quarrel arose between them and some of the students, that ended in violence. When the King arrived on the scene and perceived the uproar, he became very angry and upbraided Ximenez, charging that if he had punished the students for their first excesses as they deserved, such insolence would not have occurred. The Archbishop's only reply in defense of his students was that even an ant has its gall, and everyone will be revenged when he is oppressed.<sup>1</sup>

But by far the most serious conflict in which the students had a part during the early years of the University occurred three months after the death of Ximenez. A young man of Alcala, by the name of Arenilla, was enamored with a young woman who lived opposite the Plaza Mayor. On one occasion as he was paying his respects to his fiancée, a relative of hers and a student passed by and directed some insinuating remarks toward them. Greatly angered, Arenilla drew his sword and attacked the student who, on finding himself in difficulties, shouted the student's cry. "Favor al Colegio." Fellow-students immediately poured forth from all directions, "even from the very stones," to assist him. Arenilla, whose turn it was to be in sore

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<sup>1</sup>ibid.

straits, shouted "Favor a la Villa", whereupon the townspeople came in great numbers to aid him. In the *melée* that followed, a priest, who took part, improvised a sling with his handkerchief and hurled a stone with such force that he killed one of the villagers. It was only after the Rector of the University and a councilman intervened at the risk of their lives, that order was restored. The villagers, however, threatened to burn the university if another such case occurred.<sup>1</sup>

When the university was scarcely six years old, Ximenez was called upon to face its first great crisis arising in connection with the sudden departure of many of his outstanding professors, some of whom had been suborned by the University of Salamanca. Ever jealous of Alcala, to whom they had lost several of their professors and many of their students, Salamanca resolved on a bold stroke to win them back. They therefore offered many of the professors of Alcala increased emoluments, special privileges and other inducements in exchange for their transfer to Salamanca and their influence in bringing their students with them. As a result, several of the professors and not a few of the students went to the northern university. Among the former were Gonzalo Gil, Herrera de Talavera, Hernan Nuñez de Guzman, Alfonso de Cordoba and, possibly, Lebrija also.<sup>2</sup>  
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<sup>1</sup>LaFuente, Historia de las Universidades..vol.ii, pp.82,83.

<sup>2</sup>It is not clear whether Lebrija left Alcala at this time or whether it was later. At any rate, he returned to Alcala in 1513 where he remained delivering lectures before crowded audiences until his death from apoplexy at the advanced age of 78. Prescott, pp. 249-50.



At the same time Ximenez incurred the loss of Bartolome de Castro who went, not to Salamanca but to Rome. Notwithstanding the telling blow which this exodus dealt both Ximenez and the University, they soon rallied from it as one by one the vacant professorial chairs were filled.<sup>1</sup>

Many students were also lost to the University because of the unpropitious climate of Alcala. The excessive humidity and heavy fogs that blanketed that region became the source of a great deal of sickness among the students, many of whom, because of poverty, were illy clad and illy nourished and were unable to combat the inclement weather. Although in his petition for the establishment of the University, Ximenez had called Pope Alexander's attention to the salubrious climate of Alcala, the climate was far from healthy. Indeed, even before the buildings had been completed, Lebrija pointed out this fact to Ximenez, yet he continued with his project announcing, "For the honor and glory of God have I begun this work. I place it in His hands for Him to keep and bless."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 85. The fortune of those who deserted was not such a happy one. Gonzalo Gil became greatly disappointed in Salamanca because of their little regard to the fine arts. Alfonso de Cordoba had a similar experience and became an Augustinian monk. Herrera was seized by leprosy, and Bartolome de Castro died on the high seas on his return to Spain after wearying of his sojourn in Rome.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 94. He later became convinced of the unhealthiness of the climate and provided several retreats for his faculty, one of which was in his natal town of Torrelaguna. He also provided for their old age by appointing them to the benefices attached to the Church of San Justo y San Pastor, the number of which was increased as new professors were added. (Gomez, fol. 92).

However great might have been the faith of Ximenez, it was not sufficient to change the course of Nature. The fogs and dampness became so unbearable at times that many students were obliged to leave Alcala in search of a healthier climate. As a consequence, and also because of the continued altercations between students and villagers, the Rector of the university proposed in 1623 that it be transferred to Madrid.<sup>1</sup> Although no action was then taken, sentiment in favor of such a removal received fresh impetus with each epidemic or escapade in which students were involved. Finally, in 1836, action was taken transferring the university to the capital city and changing its name to Universidad Central. Thus ended the history of one of the noblest enterprises of the great Cardinal Ximenez; it was the marvel of that Golden Age and the constant rival of Salamanca. Other institutions required decades to attain maturity; it grew up over night and within a few years after its inception boasted an enrollment of seven thousand students to take its place among the ranking universities of Europe.

Simultaneously with the establishment of the University of Alcala, Ximenez embarked on a no less monumental undertaking, the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.<sup>2</sup> Two defin-  
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<sup>1</sup>La Fuente, op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 52, 53.

<sup>2</sup>So named from the old Roman name for Alcala, "Complutum" thought to be derived from the meeting place there of two rivers.

ite forces united in creating this great work. On the one hand, was the sustained interest Ximenez had ever manifested for the Scriptures in their original languages, an interest which had been aroused during his incarceration at Santorcaz and Uceda as well as during his chaplaincy at Sigüenza and which, instead of waning amid the arduous duties of his episcopate, was fanned into greater flame by the disputations of the many learned men with whom he had surrounded himself.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, he was led to engage in the enterprise by the low level of scholarship to which the Spanish clergy in general had descended and which was ever a source of deep regret to Ximenez who bent his every effort to correct it. Hence, shortly after his elevation to the bishopric of Toledo, he laid plans for the publication of a Polyglot which, on the order of the "Hexapla" of Origen, would exhibit in one view the Scriptures in their ancient languages. .

The successful consummation of his plan was dependent on his solving two difficult problems. The first of these was the reproduction of a correct text which involved the selection of a specialized and accredited staff as well as the assembling of ancient codices and manuscripts. The second, purely mechanical, was the actual printing of the work which, because of its nature, made necessary the man-

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<sup>1</sup>Letter of Balbas to Gomez, quoted by Quintanilla, Arche-typo, p. 100.

ufacture of hitherto uncreated type faces and several fonts of special characters and symbols.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding the immensity of the task, of which none was more aware than he, he, very early in his administration, took the preliminary steps by which he ultimately hoped to restore the Scriptures to that place of pre-eminence they had lost because of the ignorance of the clergy. By 1502 he was ready to embark on what at its completion he regarded to be the most worthwhile achievement of his career.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The art of printing which had just recently been invented had been a great boon to the circulation of the Bible. From the year 1462 to 1500, no fewer than eighty complete editions of the Vulgate had appeared, among which was the Roman, of 1471, which had been corrected from ancient manuscripts by Bishop Joannes Andreas, of Aleria, a town of Corsica. Within a very brief time interest was developed in printing the Bible in the original languages. Because of their great number as well as their wealth, the Jews led in this movement and, after they had first published the Psalms and other single books, one of their number, Abraham Ben Chajim, published the first complete Hebrew Bible at Soncino, Italy, in the year 1488. Several editions followed thereafter, notably that of Brescia, in 1494. (Hefele, p. 136) The Greeks, however, were not so favorably situated. The fall of Constantinople, in 1453, a date which almost coincided with the invention of printing, denied them both the leisure and the wealth which were so necessary for the propagation of cultural activities. Hence, they were unable to do for the New Testament what the Jews did for the Old. Moreover, their innate conservatism would have precluded their ready acceptance of the infant art or their development of the necessary type.

<sup>2</sup> Gomez, fol. 38.

His views on the necessity of such a work are clearly set forth in its Preface:- "No translation can fully and exactly represent the sense of the original, at least in that language in which our Saviour himself spoke. The manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate differ so much one from another that one cannot help suspecting some alterations must have been made, principally through the ignorance and negligence of the copyists. It is necessary, therefore (as St. Jerome and St. Augustine desired), that we should go back to the origin of the sacred writings, and correct the books of the Old Testament by the Hebrew text, and those of the New Testament by the Greek text. Every theologian should also be able to drink of that water 'which springeth up to eternal life,' at the fountain-head itself. This is the reason, therefore, that we have ordered the Bible to be printed in the original languages with different translations . . . . To accomplish this task, we have been obliged to have recourse to the knowledge of the most able philologists, and to make researches in every direction for the best and most ancient Hebrew and Greek manuscripts. Our object is, to revive the hitherto dormant study of the Sacred Scriptures."<sup>1</sup>

Fifteen years were required for the completion of the work, of which more than a decade of uninterrupted labors were devoted to the production of a true text and the

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<sup>1</sup>Hefele, pp. 138, 139.

remaining five, from 1512 to 1517, the very same year that Ximenez died, to the actual printing of the six folio volumes of which the work consists.

Chief among the scholars whom he had assembled at Alcala for the purpose, was Antonio de Lebrija, a philologist of note and the most conspicuous Latinist of his day. Through his efforts, interest in the study of Latin and humanities was revived in Spain. His devotion to and knowledge of Greek and Hebrew were almost as great, having written a grammar for the former and compiled a dictionary for the latter which, together with a commentary on the Bible, have unfortunately been lost. As an educator he also occupied a signal position and it was said of him that "from his classroom, as from the horse of Troy, there went forth a whole army of teachers who adorned with their wisdom the glory of the great doctor."<sup>1</sup>

Hernan Nuñez de Guzman was another of the scholars whom Ximenez had called to Alcala. He had studied at Salamanca under Lebrija and later at the University of Bologna. After the completion of the Polyglot he was appointed professor of Greek at Alcala, in the year 1519, but later transferred to Salamanca. He had also studied Arabic and cognate languages. Associated with him was Diego Lopez de Zuñiga who was not only an authority in Greek and Latin but also in the departments of theology and ecclesiastical

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, vol. i., p. 288.

history. He had made a thorough examination of many of the ancient codices, including the Vaticanus,<sup>1</sup> on which he had taken copious notes. These he later willed to Erasmus whose adversary he had been in several disputations.

A fourth collaborator was Juan de Vergara, who had been associated with Ximenez for a number of years, first as a page and then later as his secretary. Although he did not work as extensively on the Polyglot as did the others, he is credited with the Latin interlineal translation of the sapiential books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom.

For the correction of the Old Testament text, Ximenez engaged the services of three converted Spanish Jews. Of the three, Alphonso de Zamora was, without doubt, the best scholar. He had graduated from Salamanca but his profound knowledge of the Hebrew language presupposes his having attended the Jewish school of his natal town as well. He was a recognized grammarian, a philosopher, and a Talmudist. In 1512, he was appointed to the chair of Hebrew at Salamanca, which he occupied until 1544.<sup>2</sup> In addition to his work on the Polyglot, he produced a number of independent works, notably an apology for Christianity written in Hebrew and in Latin, and a Hebrew version of Genesis interlined with a Latin translation. Associated with him were

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<sup>1</sup>ibid. ; . . . . .

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., p. 289.

Paul Coronel and Alphonso de Alcala. The former, following his conversion, probably in 1492, dedicated himself to the study of theology and exegesis. Although Zamora had at first been credited with the compilation of the Hebrew-Chaldean-Latin dictionary which appeared in the Polyglot, later investigation has demonstrated that it came from the hand of Coronel,<sup>1</sup> who later taught Hebrew and Chaldee at Salamanca. The latter of these two, though not so well known as a philologist, had an admirable understanding of the ancient languages, particularly the Hebrew. He was better known as a jurist and a physician and afterward became professor of medicine at Alcala.

To the foregoing, Ximenez later added Demetrius Ducas, a native of Crete, whom he had appointed as the first professor of Greek at Alcala. He was the only foreigner among the editors of the Polyglot. According to Quintanilla,<sup>2</sup> Gonzalo Gil and Bartolome de Castro, professors at Alcala of theology and philosophy, also participated in the enterprise.

Having assembled this scholarly staff, Ximenez supplied them, at his own expense, with all their wants and furnished them with every help necessary in the pursuit of their occupation. No longer a young man when the work was begun, he was then sixty-four, he frequently exhorted them to greater activity reminding them of the uncertainties of life. "Make

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., p. 290.

<sup>2</sup>Archetypo...., p. 187



haste," he would say, "for all things in this world are of a transient nature; you might lose me as your patron, or I might have to lament the loss of those whose services are of more price in my eyes than wealth and worldly honors."<sup>1</sup>

Coincident with the assembling of these learned men at Alcala, Ximenez proceeded with the collecting of the many ancient manuscripts which were necessary to produce a scholarly work. They were, obviously, of three kinds, Hebrew for the Old Testament, Greek for the Septuagint and the New Testament, and Latin for the Vulgate. For a long time the identity of these manuscripts was a mooted question and their authority open to doubt with many contradictory and apocryphal accounts being given concerning their origin, their use, and eventual fate.<sup>2</sup> Hence, it

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 37.

<sup>2</sup>One such account, given credence by Prescott, Hefele, and others, was that in 1784, Professor Moldenhawer of Denmark had gone to Alcala to examine the manuscripts that had been used in the Polyglot but was told by the librarian at the University that they had been sold in 1749, by the then librarian, as useless parchments to a rocket maker by the name of (Jose Vargas) Torija, who had used them in making rockets to celebrate the arrival of an unknown Spanish grandee. Some basis of fact for this fantastic story can be found in a brief filed with King Charles III, by Perez Bayer, against the College of San Ildefonso, "for having sold to a rocket-maker by the name of Torija, a great number of ancient codices ....etc." (Retana, vol. i, p. 302). But later investigation has refuted this alleged vandalism. The then librarian, far from being illiterate and incompetent, was a man of considerable eminence who only sold as waste paper the worn out covers of some of the manuscripts prior to their being rebound. Moreover, Torija himself had no mean education and was on intimate terms with the faculty of Alcala and would scarcely have been guilty of such regrettable as well as reprehensible conduct.

will not be amiss to discuss them briefly in the light of recent investigation.

As touching the Hebrew and the Chaldee documents, Kimenez had little difficulty in finding within the borders of Spain itself, many of reputed antiquity. At the exile of the Jews from Castile in 1492, many of the banished Hebrews, instead of taking their Bibles with them, left them behind in the hands of "conversos" or in the libraries of their synagogues.<sup>1</sup> Most of these manuscripts found their way to Toledo and Maqueda, where the famous Rabbi Moses Arragel lived and worked, and were recognized as having as pure a text as similar copies in France, Germany, or Italy. Kimenez availed himself of several of these, the four most important of which were later deposited in the library of Alcala and then transferred to the library of the University of Madrid where they have since remained, under the titles of "Complutensian Hebrew Bibles, Numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4."

Of chief importance is Bible number 1. It contains an annotation in Hebrew to the effect that Rabbis Issac and Abraham brought it to Toledo in the year 5,040 of the Creation (1280 A.D.). It includes all of the Old Testament. Rabbi Jose Erasmo Moises, a convert to Christianity, claimed it to be 1800 years old. Modern critics, however, believe it to be not earlier than the XII Century.

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<sup>1</sup>Archetypo...., p. 137.

Of supposedly equal antiquity is Copy number 3. It contains, however, only the Pentateuch and a few other books of the Old Testament, with the paraphrase of Onkelos on the lateral margins and the Masora on the upper and lower. Reputedly of the same age is Copy number 4, containing only the Pentateuch.

In contrast with the above is Copy number 2 which is admittedly a modern one. It was copied by Jom Tob and completed at Taragona in the year 1482 (A.D.). It contains the entire Old Testament.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the foregoing, Ximenez purchased at least seven other Hebrew manuscripts in Venice, at a cost of 4,000 gold ducats.<sup>2</sup>

In the selection of Latin texts, Ximenez was greatly aided by the large number already in the possession of the Church, some of which were of undoubted antiquity. Several of these, notably the Toledano and the Cavense, had proceeded from the school of sacred paleography which had been established at Seville in the VIII Century and later removed to Toledo. In the preface of the Polyglot, and in the writings of Zuñiga, Coronel, and Gomez, they are referred to as Gothic or Longobardian because of the nature of the character with which they were written. As far as the Author can ascertain, only three of these copies have

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<sup>1</sup>Their signatures are 118, Z\*, 42; 38; 24; and 21.

<sup>2</sup>De Rebus Gestis, fol. 38.

been preserved. They also have been deposited in the library of the University of Madrid and have been classified as "Complutensian Latin Bibles, Numbers 1, 2, and 3."<sup>1</sup>

Codex number 1, believed to be the most ancient, contains both the Old and New Testament and, in addition, the Epistle to the Laodiceans, and books III and IV of Esdras, (as classified by Jerome). Its date has been variously estimated from the VII to the IX Centuries. Codex number 2 is probably contemporary to it but not so complete, lacking in several books. Its text is that of the Vulgate. The least complete of the three is Codex number 3 and, apparently, many of its sheets were feloniously torn from it. It is the only one of the three that had been divided into chapters, albeit they do not correspond to our present division. Its probable date is XII-XIII Centuries. In most instances the text of Number 1 was followed in preference to the others, excepting in Tobias, Judith, Esther, and Maccabees which follow Number 2.<sup>2</sup>

The most difficult of all manuscripts to obtain, and those which have since become the most controversial, were the Greek, both for the New Testament and the Septuagint. These Ximenez had to seek elsewhere as apparently there were none to be found in Spain. He assures us, however, in the Preface to the Polyglot, that he availed himself of

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<sup>1</sup>Their signatures are 115 Z\* 7; 6; and 5.

<sup>2</sup> Revilla, La Poliglota de Alcala, p. 143.

several precious and ancient codices supplied him from the Vatican Library by Pope Leo X, and of one that was the property of Cardinal Besarion, in addition to several others. Besides these, we are told by Zuñiga, that Ximenez had access to a Codex Rhodiensis, containing the Epistles of St. Paul.<sup>1</sup>

The reference which has been made to Pope Leo has ever been an obstacle to serious critics as less than a year elapsed between the date that that pontiff ascended the papal throne, March, 1513, and the completion of the New Testament in January, 1514. Dr. Hefele has attempted to overcome this seeming difficulty by suggesting that the Pope secured these manuscripts for Ximenez before he had been elected to the papacy, while he was still only a cardinal, but that, since the New Testament was actually completed after his election, Ximenez therefore referred to him as Pope.<sup>2</sup> Yet, as Lyell points out,<sup>3</sup> the element of time presents no difficulty even though the manuscripts were not received until after March, 1513. The editors of the Polyglot were all accomplished scholars who were devoting their entire time to the work and, possible, they were as erudite as Erasmus who prepared his edition of the New Testament in the short space of five months at a time

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<sup>1</sup>Hefele, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup>Hefele, p. 140. Several other authorities agree with Hefele.

<sup>3</sup>Cardinal Ximenez...., p. 41.

when he was greatly burdened with other literary labors, consequently, they too, might have done as well. Other authorities, however, with less charity have insinuated the non-existence of these manuscripts, chiefly because they have not been otherwise identified or located, and have accused Ximenez of being destitute of a scientific mind and willing to fabricate facts to suit his convenience.

Recently, however, the codices loaned to Ximenez by Leo were discovered in the Vatican Library, together with two other documents which remove all doubts concerning their having been used in the Polyglot.<sup>1</sup> The first of these documents is a letter of Pope Leo, written in 1519 to Bishop Cosentino, Nuncio in Spain, in which he is ordered to restore to the Vatican "two volumes of Greek codices, which were sent sometime back to Cardinal Cisneros." The second, is a letter from the librarian Fray Cenobio, in which he states "that the Cardinal promised to return them within a year, or to pay instead a penalty of two hundred ducats; but they were not returned until 1519."<sup>2</sup>

The manuscript of Cardinal Besarion has since been returned to Venice, but a copy of it is to be found in the Library of the University at Madrid, together with several others which Ximenez had used in the Polyglot and then

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<sup>1</sup> Revilla, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> ibid.

ordered bound.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding his desire to obtain manuscripts of genuine antiquity, it is quite evident that none of them was more than two or three hundred, or at the most, four hundred years old. The text of the Polyglot conforms throughout to recent manuscripts when they differ from the ancient, while it never agrees with the ancient in opposition to the more recent.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, despite the many notes which Zuñiga is reported to have taken on the Vaticanus, there is no evidence that they were ever used.

The general plan followed in the preparation of the text was for each collaborator to work independently of the rest and to join them at the close of the day to compare his findings with theirs and to settle any doubts or difficulties which had arisen in the course of their researches. Ximenez himself often presided at these conferences whenever his time would permit, and made many valuable suggestions which grew out of his forty years of biblical studies.<sup>3</sup>

The task of printing the Polyglot, though of a different nature from the preparation of the text, presented  
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<sup>1</sup>Its signature is 116-Z\*-36.

<sup>2</sup>Hefele, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup>This thesis not being concerned with the textual criticism of the Polyglot, all discussion relative their findings and their justification for the same has been omitted.

the same insuperable difficulties. The art of printing was still in its infancy with only a limited number of type faces having been created. Outside of a few fonts which had been used in the publication of the Hebrew Bible, there was no type in all of Europe in the Oriental languages. Hence, Ximenez was faced with the added problem of creating the type with which to print the Polyglot. In anticipation of this, however, he had engaged several artists from outside of Spain, notably Germany, to cast in his special foundries at Alcala the types in the various languages required, some of which have been regarded to this day as masterpieces of craftsmanship.<sup>1</sup> The printing of the work was entrusted to Arnald Guillen de Brocar whom Ximenez had imported, not from Germany as it has been supposed, but more probably from the South of France.<sup>2</sup> The first notice we have of him is in the year 1489 as a printer at Pampelona, where he printed several books in the fifteenth century. In 1500 he removed to Logroño and later to Alcala but still retained his presses at Logroño and added others at Toledo and Valladolid. He printed in all some ninety-two books, but his fame has ever rested on the Polyglot. In recognition of

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<sup>1</sup>Lyell, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup>This assumption is derived from the Latin form of his name which he uses, Arnaldus Guillelmus, as being incompatible with a German origin, for if he had been a German he would have spelled it Arnoldus. Lyell, p. 45, 46, quoting The Early Printers of Spain and Portugal, by Konrad Haebler.



this magnificent work, he was appointed court printer to Charles V, after the death of Ximenez, and obtained, in addition, the contract to print all Papal Bulls and Letters of Indulgence throughout Spain.

Notwithstanding the extensive preparations that had been made and the tremendous cost of the undertaking, Ximenez had only six hundred copies struck off which, though consisting of six folio volumes, were sold at the unprecedented low price of six ducats and a half.<sup>1</sup> But even this limited income from the sale was not devoted to defraying the expenses incurred in its publication but to charity.

The first volume to be printed was Volume V, containing the New Testament, its colophon being dated January 10, 1514. Next followed the Hebrew-Chaldaic Lexicon of the Old Testament, being Volume VI, which appeared also in 1514. The Hebrew portion is dated March 17, and the Chaldaic, May 31. Volumes I-IV, containing the Old Testament, were not finished until three years later, July 10, 1517, almost exactly four months before the death of Ximenez.

In the Old Testament the Latin Vulgate appears in the middle column flanked on the inside by the Greek Septuagint, interlined with a Latin translation, and on the outside by

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<sup>1</sup>Mr. Lyell, who has spent much time in cataloguing the known extant copies of the Polyglot, has been able to trace only 97 of the original 600. (See Appendix A, of his work.) The copy of the Polyglot which the Author examined, at the Advocate's Library, in Edinburgh, was purchased by the Library in 1730, for 32 pounds. The highest purchase price on record is 676 pounds paid for the copy on vellum now in Chantilly, France.

the Hebrew version with the Hebrew roots in the margin.<sup>1</sup>

The Pentateuch has, in addition, the Chaldee paraphrase in Hebrew characters at the foot of the page with the Chaldee roots appearing in the margin. In the Second Preface we find the explanation for the Latin Vulgate receiving the position of honor, namely, that as our Lord was crucified between two thieves, so the Latin Church stands between the Synagogue and the Greek Church. Such a seemingly fatuous explanation has exposed Ximenez to much harsh criticism on the part of many writers who have interpreted this to mean that he believed in the superiority of the Latin text over the Hebrew and the Septuagint. Yet that is not the case. His familiarity with and devotion to the Scriptures in their original would preclude his falling into such a gross error; moreover, he endeavored to forestall all unjust accusations by referring in both prefaces to the Hebrew text as the truth (*veritas*). What is most likely is that his emotions superseded his judgment in his seeking the glorification of the Latin Church in comparison with the Greek and Jewish churches.

In the Apocrypha there appear but two texts, the Vulgate and the Septuagint, the latter interlined with a Latin translation. The New Testament is similarly printed in two columns, the Greek on the left and the Latin on the right. The

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<sup>1</sup>For a complete description of the work, see Revilla, La Poliglota de Alcala, also the Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles, edited by Darlow and Moule, for the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Acts of the Apostles follow the Epistle to the Hebrews, a variation also to be found in the Codex Sinaiticus: between the Gospel of John and the Epistle to the Romans there are six leaves containing *ἀποστόλων τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος τοῦ ἀποστόλου* and Greek prefaces to the Epistles.

For these and other variations no reasons have been given nor can they be deduced from the little evidence that is set forth in the introductory statements of the work, although in the New Testament Preface it is declared that "ordinary copies were not the archetype for this impression, but very ancient and correct ones," and "of such antiquity that it would be utterly wrong not to use their authority." But modern scholarship has since disproved the antiquity of the manuscripts used or the correctness of some of the conclusions the editors have drawn.<sup>1</sup>

Gomez relates that when the last sheet was struck off, it was brought to Ximenez by the printer's own son, John, who was dressed in his best attire for the occasion. When the cardinal received it, he devoutly raised his eyes to heaven in thanksgiving for having been preserved to see the completion of the work and then, turning to his friends about him, said that "of all the acts which distinguished his administration there was none, however arduous, which better merited their congratulations than this."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hefele, pp. 163 and ff., gives a fair criticism of the textual difficulties faced by Ximenez and his staff.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 38.

Although the work was completed in July of 1517, the Pope did not approve it until March 22, 1520, and it was not put into circulation until the year 1522, eight years after the New Testament was printed. This delay, for which no wholly adequate explanation has been found, permitted the publication of the New Testament of Erasmus, in 1516, thereby depriving Ximenez of the glory of having circulated the first Greek New Testament but not of having printed the first Greek version. It was owing to this delay, however, that several sheets had to be reprinted to supplant those which had in the meanwhile been damaged or destroyed by damp or otherwise; hence, the variations appearing in different copies.

However many blemishes modern criticism may find in it, the Complutensian Polyglot will ever be regarded as a valiant endeavor to discover a pure text in a period when the science of textual criticism was just emerging, the most ancient manuscripts had not as yet been discovered, and higher criticism, in our modern sense, had not yet been born. Not far wrong is Gomez when he alludes to it as truly a miraculous work,<sup>1</sup> nor yet Menendez Pelayo in speaking of it as "a monument of eternal glory for Spain, a beacon light, of dazzling splendor, lighted at the beginning of the XVI Century to illumine the whole of that century."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Historia de los Heterodoxos..., lib. iv. cap. i.

Regardless of its merits, it became, in a sense, the parent of textual criticism. It was not merely a compilation and publishing of a set of texts but a bold attempt, on the part of the greatest scholars Spain had in her golden era, to determine by a scientific method the true text of the original scripture writings. Other Polyglots followed it, and they became increasingly of a purer text as more remote codices were discovered, but everyone of them is indebted, to a greater or lesser degree, to the impulse of Ximenez' immortal work.

At the same time that the Polyglot was under way, Ximenez proposed to do for the works of Aristotle what he was doing for the Scriptures, following more or less the same general plan. In one column was to be the Greek text, corrected after the same scholarly manner employed in the Bible, in another, a literal translation in the Latin, and, in a third, a kind of paraphrase which would better reveal the meaning of the philosopher. He commissioned this task to Juan Vergara who was aided by Herrera and Santo Tomas de Villanueva, members of the faculty of Alcala. Although much of the work was completed, none of it was printed as Broccar was busily engaged in printing the Polyglot. Meanwhile, Ximenez died, and for want of a patron, the work was interrupted and the manuscripts deposited in the cathedral library of Toledo where they have remained to this day.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, vol. i, p. 304.

Ximenez was more successful with the restoration of the Mozarabic Liturgy that had long since fallen into disuse.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after his arrival at Toledo, he made an inspection of the cathedral library and became greatly concerned when he discovered that many books, some of them of great antiquity, were becoming damaged by the dampness. He resolved, therefore, to erect a new library building, more spacious and airy than the present one. At the same time he planned to endow it with sufficient revenues so that it might be the rival of even the Vatican library in the literary treasures it possessed.<sup>2</sup> He was prevented from carrying out his project by the enormous expense he was to incur in the erection of the University of Alcala and the contemplated Polyglot Bible. But it was on this visit that he stumbled onto some ancient manuscripts, written in old Gothic characters, and containing the Mozarabic Liturgy which he determined to restore to use.<sup>3</sup>

When Christianity was first introduced to Spain, the Roman Liturgy was used but as time went on, other influences made themselves felt and so modified it as to make it distinctively national in spirit. By the fifth century

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<sup>1</sup>Thus called to denote its "Mixt-Arabic" origin. Robles, p. 207. According to Vallejo, however, (p. 57) it originated with Muca Arabi, King of Toledo. || )

<sup>2</sup>Hefele, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup>Vallejo, Gomez, and Hefele are unanimously in error in saying it was 1502 when Ximenez discovered the ancient Mozarabic Liturgy and resolved on its restoration. The title page of the first Missal states it was printed in 1500, or two years before its supposed discovery.

several notable dissimilarities from the Roman Liturgy were manifest that had had their origin in the friendly relations which Spanish and Greek prelates maintained. A century later, a further influence was added to the Graeco-Arian by the conversion to Christianity of the Visigothic kings. In an effort to unify what was rapidly becoming a most diversified liturgy, King Sisenand called the Fourth Council of Toledo, in the year 663, which was presided over by Saint Isidore of Seville who, with the assistance of sixty-two other bishops there present, unified the Liturgy and ordered it to be uniformly followed throughout all of Spain.

The newly adopted Gothic Liturgy, some of it in Latin and some of it in Greek, soon came into such general use so—<sup>but</sup> that the Gregorian Liturgy, elsewhere adopted by the Roman Church, was completely ignored. When the Moors conquered Spain in the eighth century, with an unexpected tolerance, they allowed the Goths who remained in the country a considerable amount of freedom in worship. The intermingling, however, of Christians and Moors had its effect on the Gothic Liturgy which became corrupted with the adoption of certain Moorish practices. While these changes were going on in Spain, the Latin Liturgy itself was undergoing a transformation so that by the tenth century there was a marked divergence between it and the Spanish.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Dr. Hefele, pp. 179-187, gives a most excellent and detailed account of the history of the Mozarabic Liturgy until it fell into disuse prior to its restoration by Ximenez.

Following the expulsion of the Moors from Toledo toward the close of the XI Century, and at the instigation of the French monks at Cluny, Cardinal Girald, then nuncio in France, was sent to Spain to introduce the Roman Liturgy, although the Gothic had been approved by Pope John X, in 924, despite the suspicion that it contained false doctrine.

But all efforts to effect the change met with stubborn resistance and it was finally agreed to decide the issue by single combat, according to the custom of the day. Two champions were chosen and the knight of the Mozarabic Ritual gained the day. Not content with this demonstration of its superiority, a second test was held between two bulls at the bull-ring of Toledo and again the bull representing the Mozarabic Liturgy gained the victory.

Still dissatisfied, Rome a few years later sent another legate, Cardinal Ricardo, to introduce the Gregorian Liturgy. King Alfonso VI, who seemed favorable to its adoption, called a Council at Burgos, in the year 1085, which sanctioned its introduction. The people, however, were again opposed to relinquish the rites which had been approved by their beloved Saint Isidore. To settle the matter the ordeal by fire was resorted to. Both Missals, a Gregorian and a Mozarabic, were cast into the fire but neither of them was destroyed; the former because it bounced out and the latter because it was able to withstand the flames which in vain tried to consume it. This test was conclusive



evidence in the eyes of the people present of the superiority of their ritual but the King declared that the Roman was its co-equal for neither could the flames destroy it, and in virtue of his authority, he ordered it to be adopted throughout the land with the exception of Toledo and six parish churches which were permitted to continue with the Mozarabic Ritual. But little by little, as Mozarabic families died and others lost their sentimental attachment to the Ritual, it soon lost its prestige and fell into complete disuse. Such was its status when Ximenez was appointed to the primatial see of Toledo. Although his predecessor, Cardinal Mendoza had contemplated its revival, death overtook him before he was able to go far with the project.

Ximenez immediately set about to collecting manuscripts and codices pertaining to the Mozarabic Liturgy and ordered a search to be made throughout all the churches and convents of the diocese for copies and fragments of the Ritual. These he placed in the hands of Canon Alfonso Ortiz who, aided by the parish priests of the three Mozarabic churches of Santa Justa, Santa Eulalia, and San Lucas, shortly prepared what was in his judgment a true version.

In the year 1500 appeared the first Missal, printed in Roman characters by the Genoese Melchior Garricio and Peter Hagenbach, of Toledo. This was followed in 1502 by the Breviary. Several copies of both books were struck off on vellum, a few of which are still preserved at Toledo.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, vol. i, p. 308.

The Missal was reprinted at Rome in 1755 and again in 1840. Another edition, now very rare, appeared in Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico, in 1770. The Breviary was reprinted by Ibarra of Madrid, in 1775.<sup>1</sup>

Not satisfied with the mere publication of the Rite, Ximenez decided to perpetuate it by dedicating a chapel of the Cathedral to the observance of the Mozarabic Liturgy. He selected for this purpose what was then the Sala Capitulatular, in the South West tower, which had adjacent to it a small chapel called "Ad Corpus Christi." To forestall any dissension among the canons, he purchased these rooms from the Chapter for four thousand florins, and commissioned Enrique Egas, chief builder of the Cathedral, to rebuild them according to his specifications. By the year 1504 the work was completed and ready for services. Meanwhile Ximenez had endowed a college for thirteen priests to officiate in the Mozarabic chapel. They were called "Mozarabes Sodales, or Capellani" and were to celebrate divine office every day and to recite the canonical hours according to the Liturgy.<sup>2</sup> Soon other bishops followed in the footsteps of Ximenez, and Mozarabic chapels were established at Salamanca (1510) and at Valladolid.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lyell, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup>The Author was fortunate, when visiting the Cathedral of Toledo, to be there at a time when a service was being celebrated in this chapel.

<sup>3</sup>For a good description of the rite, consult Compendio de hazañas... by Robles (p.237,ff) who was a Mozarabic chaplain at St. Mark's, in Toledo. Also Hefele, pp. 187-94.

About this same time Ximenez engaged in other literary ventures. In order to combat the sensuous and pernicious literature that formed much of the reading of the day, he ordered several books to be printed that were of an ascetic and inspirational nature for the benefit of his parishioners. Among these were Las Meditaciones de la Vida de Cristo, by Ludolfo or Landulfo, of Saxony, El Cartujano, translated by Fray Ambrosio de Montesinos, The Life of St. Catherine of Siena, translated from the Latin by Fray Antonio de la Peña, and the Lives of Juana de Orbieta and Margarita de Castello, besides a number of lesser books.<sup>1</sup> His literary interests, however, took him into other fields as well. He published the works of Raymond Lull, of whom he was a great admirer, and also a treatise on agriculture, written by several authors and edited by Gabriel Alonso de Herrera, brother of Hernando and of Lope de Herrera, professor of rhetoric and organist of the University of Alcala, respectively. This latter book Ximenez distributed freely among the farmers of the diocese in an effort to help them obtain a greater yield from their crops. So successfully did it meet a vital need that it has since gone through twenty seven editions.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 39. See Lyell, Appendix C, for a handlist of books ordered published by Ximenez.

<sup>2</sup>Retana, vol. 1, p. 319.

Despite the keen interest which Ximenez manifested in learning and in the writings of others, he himself scarcely wrote. Outside of his Letters, the Constitutions of the University, the Synodical Rules, and his Will, there are no documents extant written by him.<sup>1</sup> But this is not surprising when we consider the active life he lived, so active, indeed that in two brief decades he accomplished all the things and many more that are outlined in this thesis.

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<sup>1</sup> Robles (p. 114) and others who have followed him, have asserted that Ximenez wrote a devotional book entitled Natura Angelica but this, it appears, was written by Francisco Ximenez, Bishop of Elna or Perpignan, who lived a century earlier.

C H A P T E R     S I XREGENT - CARDINAL - INQUISITOR-GENERAL

With the settlement of her domestic problems, the conquering of the Moorish kingdom of Granada, and the acquisition of a New World beyond the waters that promised to bestow an immeasurable wealth upon her, Spain was rapidly occupying the most enviable position among the European powers. But in the midst of this splendor she was destined to experience a distinct shock in the loss of that illustrious personage, Queen Isabella, who had long guided her rising prosperity.

The incessant activity of the Queen and her constant fatigue and continued exposure in her many travels had so impaired her constitution that she became the easy prey of a malignant illness. Her condition was further aggravated by a series of domestic calamities that had befallen her. In the year 1496 she followed her mother to the grave; the following year she accompanied the remains of her only son, Prince John, the heir and hope of the monarchy; and the succeeding year she was once more called upon to witness the last rites for one of her own, this time her beloved daughter Isabella, Queen of Portugal.

Though her condition became so critical that she had to spend most of her time reclining on a couch, she con-

tinued to take an active part in affairs of state. Her malady gaining ground, she prepared her will October 12, 1504. In it she settled the succession to the throne on her daughter Joanna ("la loca"),<sup>1</sup> who had married Philip, Archduke of Austria. She further provided that in the event of Joanna's incapacity to reign, either through absence from the country or otherwise, King Ferdinand was to be sole regent of Castile until her grandson Charles should attain his majority. Six executors were appointed of whom Ferdinand and Ximenez were the principal.

November 23rd, she added a codicil to her will directing those who came after her to treat with utmost kindness and consideration the Indians of the New World and urging that every possible means should be employed to convert them to the true faith. She also expressed her doubts respecting the legality of the "alcavalas", which then constituted the principal revenue of the crown, and directed a commission to study ways of alleviating her people from this burden.<sup>2</sup> Three days later, November 26, 1504, Isabella expired at Medina del Campo, in the fifty-fourth year

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<sup>1</sup> See Prescott, pp. 628 and 642, notes, for some illuminating comments on the "madness" of Joanna.

<sup>2</sup> The "alcavala" was a tax of one-tenth of all transfers of property, originally designed, more than a century before, to furnish funds for the Moorish war. It produced more than any other branch of the revenue. Prescott, p. 719, note.

of her age and the thirtieth of her reign. In accordance with her wishes, her body was taken to Granada where, after a treacherous journey because of the rains and the swollen streams, it was deposited in the Franciscan monastery of the Alhambra, whence it was transferred, after Ferdinand's death, to the more stately mausoleum in the cathedral church of Granada.

On the very same day that Isabella died, Ferdinand publicly renounced the throne of Castile and announced the accession of Philip and Joanna. But owing to their absence in Flanders, in accordance with Isabella's testament, he also announced himself to be the governor pro tempore of Castile.<sup>1</sup> January 11, 1505, the Cortes were convened at Toro to give the oath of allegiance to Joanna as queen and lady proprietor, and to Philip, her husband. But immediately they determined that the exigency contemplated by Isabella, namely, Joanna's incapacity, actually existed and proceeded to tender their homage to Ferdinand as the lawful governor of the realm in her name. But neither the wishes of Isabella regarding the regency nor the swift action of Ferdinand and the Cortes in complying with them met with

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<sup>1</sup>The very haste with which Ferdinand acted has been interpreted to mean that he fully intended that Philip and Joanna should be deprived of the succession and he was assuming the governing power before the nobility might muster their forces to thwart the furtherance of his ambitions. (Lyell, p. 61.)

the approbation of many of the nobility who, for the last thirty years, had chafed under the restraint to which they had been subjected. Hence, they lost no time in informing Philip, then in Flanders, how imperative it was for him to come to Spain, hoping, no doubt, to dominate him more successfully than they could Ferdinand.

Philip, however, was not particularly keen on going to Spain, much preferring the gaiety of Flanders. Nevertheless, as a result of their entreaties, and of their false view of conditions in Spain, Philip was filled with a growing resentment against his father-in-law and carried on with him an extensive correspondence asserting his own undivided supremacy in Castile and, finally, demanding Ferdinand's resignation of the regency and his retirement to Aragon. These demands were met with ill-concealed contempt by Ferdinand who pointed out to Philip how impossible it was for him to rule the Spaniards, unacquainted as he was with their temperament and their customs. In the meantime, sixteen months after the death of Isabella, Ferdinand had married his own niece, Germaine de Foix, so that, in the event of an heir Aragon should devolve upon him and not upon Philip.

When news reached Philip of Ferdinand's marriage and of a treaty he had made with France, he was greatly alarmed by the serious turn of events which so jeopardized his interests. He immediately set sail with Joanna for Spain,



taking his fleet with him. Landing at Coruña, a remote port on the north western coast of Spain, he planned a leisurely trip inland, enlisting on the way the sympathies of the people and of the nobility.

Ferdinand had not contemplated such an unexpected turn to the contest and, himself alarmed, he sought the counsel of Archbishop Ximenez who became convinced an immediate understanding between the contending rulers had to be reached to avert civil war. He accordingly arranged for their meeting at the earliest opportunity. The place selected was near Puebla de Senabria, on the borders of Leon and Galicia, where, after exchanging salutations, they entered a small hermitage in the neighborhood attended only by Don Juan Manuel, Philip's chief adviser, and Archbishop Ximenez. But no sooner had they entered than the latter, addressing Don Juan with a note of authority hard to resist, told him it was not proper for them to intrude on the private affairs of their masters and, taking his arm, led him out of the room and coolly locked the door explaining that they would act as porters.<sup>1</sup>

In vain did Ferdinand reason with Philip who was well schooled in his part and remained inflexible in his demands for Ferdinand to retire to Aragon. Every attempt at an agreement which Ferdinand put forth at that time and in the

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<sup>1</sup>Vallejo, pp.98-102; Gomez, fol. 63.

days that followed, met with an uncompromising rejection. This adamant attitude and the distressing news which he received from Naples requiring his presence there, finally convinced Ferdinand that he must accede to Philip's demands and he relinquished, though reluctantly, his administration of Castile. He signed and solemnly swore an agreement, June 27, 1506, whereby he surrendered the entire sovereignty of Castile to Philip and Joanna, reserving for himself only the grand-masterships of the military orders and the revenues secured by Isabella's testament.

The reign of Philip and Joanna was destined, however, to be a brief one. Scarcely two months after the Cortes had sworn their allegiance to them, Philip was suddenly taken ill of a fever following a violent game of ball. Although his physicians tried every remedy then known, they were unable to check his malady and six days later, September 25, 1506, he passed away at Burgos, in his twenty-ninth year.<sup>1</sup>

The death of Philip filled all Spain with consternation. Even before that untoward event had taken place, Ximenez, apprehensive lest anarchy break out, had called

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<sup>1</sup>The belief held by some (Lyell, p. 62) that Philip was poisoned, and this possibly at the instigation of Ximenez himself, is without foundation. He died probably of double pneumonia (Retana, vol. i, p. 377) following a chill which had originated in his indiscretion in drinking an abundance of cold water while over-exhausted from his violent exercise (Prescott, p. 623, note).

together the nobles present to arrange for a provisional regency to carry on the government, while awaiting the return of Ferdinand, should the young king not recover.<sup>1</sup>

Ximenez astutely reminded them how impolitic it would be to recall Ferdinand at such a precarious time, in view of the bitterness that had existed between him and the deceased king. The members present therefore, appointed a council with Archbishop Ximenez as its head.<sup>2</sup> This action was officially ratified by the rest of the nobility, October 1st, limiting the life of the council, however, to the end of December. In order that this action might be given greater validity, they then proposed that Joanna summon the Cortes. But that unhappy lady was too overcome with grief to give matters of state any consideration and when all entreaties to get her to sign the necessary documents convening the Cortes failed, the council finally resolved to issue the summons in its own name, to meet the ensuing November at Burgos.<sup>3</sup> This action did not, however, meet with the approbation of many cities who manifested their disapprobation by refusing to send their deputies, so that when the appointed time for the assembly arrived, there was

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<sup>1</sup>Vallejo, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup>Lurita, Anales, lib. vii, cap. xv.

<sup>3</sup>op. cit., lib. vii, cap. xxii.

such a small number of representatives present that the meeting had to be dissolved without having transacted any business.<sup>1</sup>

Ferdinand's enemies, in the meantime, had been active in promoting schemes to prevent his return to power in Castile. Some urged the coming of Emperor Maximilian to Spain to assume the regency. Others proposed that the widowed queen should marry the young duke of Calabria, or some other prince who might be their tool even as King Philip had been.<sup>2</sup>

When Ximenez ascertained these many plots and the dangers with which they were fraught, he resolved on the bold plan of assuming the control of the government. Ostensibly for protecting the queen's person but with the real purpose of checking any revolt that might arise, he equipped and paid from his funds a strong army. At the same time he informed Ferdinand of the critical turn of affairs and urged him to return immediately to Spain. But that monarch was in no hurry to return. He hoped that by prolonging his absence he might compel Castile to see their need of him. But until such time as he did return, he conveyed to Ximenez, the duke of Alva, and the grand-constable full powers to govern in his stead.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., lib. vii, cap. xxvii.

<sup>2</sup>Prescott, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup>Zurita, Anales, lib. vii., cap. xxxii.

For some obscure reason, however, Ximenez refused to accept these powers or to act in Ferdinand's name unless the Cortes solemnly declared, what all of Spain already knew, the incapacity of the Queen. His inexplicable conduct in this respect, which received the approbation of neither the people nor yet of Ferdinand, caused considerable distrust in many quarters which, happily, was overcome by Ferdinand's politic behaviour both before and after his return to Spain.<sup>1</sup>

The task with which Ximenez was faced was not an easy one. Not only did he have to contend with a grief-stricken and demented queen who refused to take any interest in matters of even prime importance but he had also to overcome many powerful nobles who daily were becoming more unruly and whom he hoped to make more tractable against the return of Ferdinand.

King Ferdinand, in the meantime, however unfavorably disposed he might previously have been toward Ximenez, discovered his great need of him in the present crisis. Hence, while in Italy, perhaps as much to assure the Archbishop's continued support as to recognize his past accomplishments, he arranged with Pope Julius II to elect Xim-

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<sup>1</sup> The usually fair minded Zurita accuses Ximenez of ambitions for the crown, being "at heart much more of a king than a friar" (Anales, lib. vii, cap. xxix). Gomez, however, ascribes the every action of Ximenez to a high sense of patriotism (fol. 70).

enez to the College of Cardinals. Because of his admiration for Ximenez and his feeling that it was politic to please the powerful Ferdinand, the Pope acceded to the King's request and published the necessary bull May 17, 1507, elevating Ximenez to the rank of Cardinal with the added title of "Cardinal of Spain".<sup>1</sup> "Often", says Dr. Hefele, "had the Holy See been obliged to accede with regret to solicitations of this kind. But, in this case, Pope Julius II and the Sacred College were exceedingly delighted to be able to accord such an honor to a man that was one of the most illustrious prelates of his time. Nay, so loudly and frequently did the cardinals express their joy at this new creation, that a great number of letters having been sent from Rome by the resident Spaniards there, the news spread quickly through Spain."<sup>2</sup> Ferdinand then asked the privilege of himself presenting the Archbishop with the coveted red biretta on his return to Spain.

The very next day, May 18th, Ferdinand bestowed a second signal honor on the Archbishop of Toledo in ap-

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<sup>1</sup> Gomez, fol. 76, gives us the text of the brief.

<sup>2</sup> Hefele, p. 272.

pointing him Inquisitor-General of Castile and Leon.<sup>1</sup>

Two months later found the Sovereign back in Spain but it was not until September that the investiture of Ximenez with the cardinal's hat took place. Plans had been made to perform the ceremony at the church of Santa Maria del Campo but due to the objections raised by Joanna because the body of Philip was resting there, the service was held in the nearby town of Mahumud where, in the presence of the nobility, the papal brief elevating Ximenez to the rank of cardinal was read and, following the customary rites for such an occasion, the red biretta was placed on the head of the Archbishop who was given the title of Cardinal of Saint Balbinus.<sup>2</sup> All Spain rejoiced over this signal honor that had been bestowed on him but of greater consequence to the Spanish Church was his appointment as Inquisitor-General.

There were two distinct periods in the history of the Inquisition in Spain. The Ancient had its inception with

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<sup>1</sup>According to Zurita (Anales, lib.vii, cap. xxix) Ximenez and the Grand-Constable had spent much time and effort in obtaining these two appointments which were the crowning ambitions of Ximenez. Gomez, fol. 77, does not support this assertion.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 76. Hefele, p. 274, insinuates that it was jealousy of Ximenez and his honors, and not mourning, that prompted Joanna's refusal to hold the service at Santa Maria. This is a gratuitous interpretation of that unhappy woman's behaviour. Had that been her reason she would scarcely have offered her "rich tapestries and other ornaments for the solemnity of the function", as he himself records.

Pope Gregory IX who had established it in Spain in the year 1233 for the purpose of combating the Albigensian heresy that was then gaining ground in Aragon.<sup>1</sup> So successful was the Inquisition that in a comparatively brief period practically every trace of that heresy had been extirpated from Aragon as well as from Castile where it had never been very popular. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the Holy Office might have died through disuse had not a new field for action been found for it in the unfortunate race of Israel. The Jews became, therefore, the reason for, as well as the victim of, the Modern Inquisition of which Cardinal Ximenez was Inquisitor General.

During the Visigothic period the Jews had attained a rather important position in the Spanish economy and though it was later very definitely circumscribed following the ascendancy of the orthodox cause in Spain, it still was of considerable worth. This position was immeasurably bettered after the Saracen invasion as the conquering Arab displayed the same tolerance toward the "people of the book", as the Jews were called, as they did toward the Christian.<sup>2</sup> Under

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<sup>1</sup>The Albigenses, related in their theology to the Manicheans, originated about the borders of Albi and Toulouse, in the south of France. From there, their heresy most naturally spread to Aragon.

<sup>2</sup>As a matter of fact, the Koran grants protection to the Jew on the payment of tribute. (chapter 9).



these favourable circumstances the Jews flourished, engaging in all kinds of lucrative trading and amassing a considerable wealth.

When the Christians conquered the Moors and made new inroads into Saracen holdings, they continued this same policy of toleration toward the Jews who attained, as a result, a more conspicuous place in Spanish life. They were the only physicians of the day and the most adept pharmacists; they were the financial experts of Spain, with several of them becoming public treasurer and chief tax-collector; they were the brokers of the world; they advanced the sciences of mathematics and astronomy and even became royal tutors and secretaries.<sup>1</sup>

Their success, however attributable it might be to industry and shrewdness, was viewed with an increasing jealousy by the ease-loving Castilian who began to seek means of curbing it. At the turn of the fourteenth century, the Cortes forbade the Jews to own real estate. By another decision, 1320, Jews were forbidden to bear Christian names or to associate with Christians, Jewesses were

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<sup>1</sup>For a more detailed account of the rise of Judaism and its relation to the Inquisition, which the author has only briefly sketched, see T. Basnage, Histoire des Juifs depuis Christ, 5 vols. Rotterdam, 1706. H. H. Milman, History of the Jews, 3 vols. London, 1851. Jose Amador de los Rios, Historia social, politica, y religiosa de los Judios de España y Portugal, 3 vols. Madrid, 1875, 1876. Henry Charles Lea, Chapters from the Religious History of Spain, Philadelphia, 1890, and, more particularly, his History of the Inquisition of Spain, New York, 1906.

forbidden to wear ornaments; the rate of interest allowed was fixed and a fine imposed on usury.<sup>1</sup> But even these regulations failed to check the rapid progress with which the Jew was monopolising the commercial life of Spain. Thoroughly alarmed, Spaniards repeatedly appealed to the crown for protection and, when it was not forthcoming, took matters into their own hands with the added blessing of the Church.<sup>2</sup> There followed thereafter a series of raids on the larger Juderias of Spain with an indiscriminate massacre of the Jews found therein. In 1366 occurred the first of these and it is said that in Valladolid, Paredes, and Palencia alone there were eight thousand Jews that perished. In 1391 there was a fresh outbreak that became general. It had its beginning in Seville, where four thousand Jews perished, then rapidly spread to Cordoba, northwards to Toledo and thence to every district of the peninsula. Even Palma, in the island of Majorca,

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<sup>1</sup>In Aragon the Jews were allowed to charge 20 per cent per annum, in Castile, 33 1/3. but these rates were constantly circumvented by many ingenious devices, by fictitious sales and other frauds which made the interest rates far exceed that allowable - Lea, History of the Inquisition in Spain, vol. i, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup>Ferran Martinez, Archdeacon of Ecija, was one of the greatest offenders in this respect. His sermons were filled with fanatical utterances against the Jew that goaded his hearers into such an emotional state as to render them blind to reason. One such utterance was to the effect that he knew the king would regard as a service any assault or slaying of the Jews and that impunity might be relied on, (Lea, op. cit., p. 104).

reported three hundred Jews murdered.<sup>1</sup>

For this wholesale slaughter and its accompanying pillage, there was complete immunity. No attempt whatsoever was made in Castile to punish or so much as to ascertain the guilty. In self-defense and as a means to escape from this merciless onslaught, many Jews professed Christianity. In Valencia there were about two hundred who demanded baptism. In Barcelona there were eleven thousand who asked for the regenerating sacrament. In Toledo four thousand were converted in one day and similar numbers throughout all of Spain.<sup>2</sup>

Encouraged by this real or feigned conversion to Christianity, St. Vincent Ferrer, a Dominican monk, travelled extensively throughout Spain preaching the doctrines of the Church with crucifix in one hand and a copy of the Torah in the other. As a result of his eloquence and the many miracles he performed, he converted thirty-five thou-

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<sup>1</sup>The exact number of Jews who perished in these massacres can only be guessed at. In the massacre of 1391 alone, it is estimated that fifty thousand Jews perished, but this is probably an exaggeration (Lea, *op. cit.*, p. 107). According to Prescott (p. 166, note) the number was only five thousand, but Mariana, (*Hist. de España*, vol. i., p. 912) states that no less than ten thousand had perished from the same cause in Navarre alone about sixty years before.

<sup>2</sup>Lea, Hist. of Inquisition of Spain, vol. i, p. 111.

sand Jews.<sup>1</sup> Possibly at his instigation, the fueros of 1412 were passed that had as their obvious object to compel the Jew to accept Christianity or to be reduced to poverty. By these restrictive laws, Juderias and Morerias were established everywhere, surrounded by a high wall and having only one gate. Jews were forbidden to practice medicine, surgery, or chemistry. They could not deal in bread, wine, flour, meal, or other kindred comestibles. Neither could they engage in handicrafts or trades, fill public offices, or practice the higher professions. They were forbidden to hire Christian servants, farm laborers, or other helpers. Neither could they eat, drink, or bathe with Christians; nor give them presents, visit them, or converse with them. Even their dress was regulated and made so distinctive as to identify them immediately as Jews. Significantly, nothing was said about usury, and money-lending was practically the only occupation remaining for them.<sup>2</sup> Any Jew attempting to violate these provisions by fleeing the country, was subject to a fine of from three hundred to two thousand mara-

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<sup>1</sup>Some authorities claim for him 200,000. Among the many miracles which he is said to have performed, were restoring sight to the blind, making the halt to walk, and even raising the dead. He is also reported to have preached in his native Catalan to audiences of French, English, Flemish, and Italians indiscriminately, all of whom understood him perfectly well. If this be true, McCrie points out (The Ref. in Spain, p. 87, note) if it prove anything, it proves that the hearers of St. Vincent possessed more miraculous powers than himself, and they should have been canonized rather than he.

<sup>2</sup>Lea, op. cit., vol. i. pp. 78, 112, 113.

vedis, or punishment by flagellation, or both.

If the intent of this repressive legislation was to compel the Jews to accept baptism, as even Spanish historians of the day admit,<sup>1</sup> it was accomplishing its work as entire congregations of Jews in Zaragoza, Calatayud, Alcañiz, Daroca, Fraga, Caspe, Maella, Lerida, Tamarit, Alcolea, and elsewhere, presented themselves for baptism.<sup>2</sup> But the oppression of the Jews soon had its telling effect on Spanish life. Commerce and industry were at a standstill; the soil was not cultivated; finances were tottering; and many commodities that had previously been exported had to be imported at a great advance in price.

King Juan II essayed to save Castile from utter ruin by giving a broader interpretation to the stringent laws of 1412 and appointed many qualified Jews to high positions. In 1443, the fueros of 1412 were further amended to permit Jews to engage in certain specified trades but not to live elsewhere than in the Juderias.

The Jews soon began to prosper again. Several of them, professing Christians or "Conversos" as they were called,

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<sup>1</sup>According to Zurita, the hopes were entertained that as a result of this legislation and the eloquence of Ferrer, Judaism would become extinct in Spain, (Anales, lib. xii., cap. xlv).

<sup>2</sup>Lea, op. cit., vol. i, p. 118. It is impossible to arrive at an accurate computation of the number of Jews converted. Ferrer alone is reputed to have converted between 35,000 and 200,000.

were elevated to high ecclesiastical dignities; they were intrusted with municipal offices in various cities of Castile; and, as their wealth furnished, by way of marriage, an obvious resource for repairing the decayed fortunes of the nobility, it was not very long before there was hardly a family of rank in the land without some traces of Jewish blood.

As a result of their improved circumstances, many of the Conversos relapsed openly to their former religious practices at the same time that they strengthened themselves economically. But in doing so, once more they stirred up the embers of antipathy and jealousy. Among the first to respond were the Dominicans who, ever on the alert for ferreting out heresy, began to incite the populace against the "false Conversos". They were immeasurably aided in their task by a Franciscan, Fray Alonso de Espina, who, recent authorities suspect, was a Converso but who had an inextinguishable hatred for the Jews.<sup>1</sup> The return of the Conversos to former practices became so undisguised that Bernaldez, Curate of Los Palacios, in speaking of the Jews of Andalusia, said, "This accursed race were unwilling to bring their children to be baptized or if they did endeavored to wipe away the water as soon as they returned to their homes. They prepared their stews and other dishes with oil, instead of lard. They abstained

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<sup>1</sup>Lea, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 148-49.

from pork; they kept the Passover; they ate meat in Lent; ~~and~~ they sent oil to the synagogues to replenish the lamps; and they participated in many other offensive customs and practices of their religion."<sup>1</sup>

The hostility of the Dominicans soon spread to other ecclesiastics of the realm who engaged in a violent denunciation of the Jews and their reprehensible conduct. The seed sown by the clergy soon sprang root and all Spain was rife with rumors of Jewish depredations. According to these rumors the Jews were in the habit of sacrificing Christian children, many of whom they crucified head downward. They were accused of seducing the inmates of religious houses, of defiling the sacred Host, and of engaging in abominable ceremonies. Inevitably these rumors were followed by raids on the Juderias. The houses of Jews were destroyed, their sacred places defiled, their wives and daughters violated and, at times, the streets flowed with the blood of those who had been slaughtered.<sup>2</sup> Such was the status of the vexing problem of the Jews and the Conversos when Ferdinand and Isabella ascended the throne.

Pope Sixtus IX had, in the meanwhile, sent Niccolo Franco to Castile, with instructions to introduce the In-

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<sup>1</sup> Bernaldez, Historia de los Reyes Catolicos, cap. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Attention ought to be called to the fact that in these bitter controversies neither side was wholly exempt from blame. Both unnecessarily taunted each other and courted trouble.

quisition so as to deal better with apostatized Conversos.<sup>1</sup> His plea for the establishment of the Holy Office was loudly echoed by Fray Alonso de Ojeda, a Dominican monk who was prior of the monastery of San Pablo in Seville, and the successor of Spina as the chief agitator against the Jews. A constant source of irritation to him had been the presence of so many Conversos in the royal court and, though he repeatedly urged Isabella of their menace, he was unsuccessful in securing their dismissal.<sup>2</sup> His efforts, nevertheless, were not wholly in vain as his cause against the Jews was given added impetus by the Nuncio Franco and by Thomas de Torquemada, prior of the Dominican Convent of Santa Cruz, in Segovia, and confessor to the sovereigns. This prelate, who is credited with being the parent of the Spanish Inquisition, insisted on the establishment of that institution in order to preserve the peace and purity of religion and to extirpate heresy and apostasy from the Church. The sovereigns were finally convinced of its necessity. Isabella, because of her genuine piety and devotion to the Church; and Ferdinand, because he saw in it a splendid scheme of increasing the royal revenue through the confiscation of the property of those accused and convicted.

The sovereigns, thereupon, instructed their ambassadors at Rome to procure from the papal court the necessary bull

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<sup>1</sup>Lea, op. cit., vol. i, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup>Lea, op. cit., pp. 155-56.



creating the Inquisition. Sixtus was not at all loathe in performing what he and his predecessors had previously, but vainly, essayed on doing and November 1, 1478, he issued the enabling bull.<sup>1</sup>

For some inexplicable reason, however, it was not until two years later that the Holy Office began to function. The position of some historians,<sup>2</sup> that Isabella was averse to violent measures until a more lenient policy could be adopted, is scarcely tenable. What is more probable is that she was the unhappy victim of two powerful forces who were opposed to the Inquisition. On the one hand were the wealthy and powerful Conversos, many of whom were her advisers and, on the other, were many important prelates who greatly resented the invasion of their episcopal jurisdiction by the appointment of external inquisitors. But all difficulties were eventually overcome and on the 17th of September, 1480, the sovereigns appointed two Dominicans, Miguel de Morillo and Juan de San Martin, to act as inquisitors for Seville and the adjacent country, a region where the greatest number of Conversos was to be found.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The assertion made by Hefele (p. 381) that many historians, of whom he mentions only one (Rotteck) have insinuated that Ximenez was instrumental in establishing the Inquisition, is not to be taken seriously today. Every student of Ximenez and of the Inquisition knows that at the time Pope Sixtus issued the above mentioned bull, Ximenez was an obscure monk who had not been forced into public life until twelve years later.

<sup>2</sup>Prescott, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup>Lea, op. cit., p. 160.

On the 2nd of January, 1481, the tribunal met for the first time and published an edict requiring all persons to inform the authorities of any individuals known or suspected of heresy and to aid in their apprehension. Every mode of accusation, even anonymous, was invited. Certain evidences of Judaistic tendencies were also given as a guide for detecting heresy. It was considered good proof if the accused wore better clothes or cleaner linen on the Jewish Sabbath than at other times; if he had no fire in his house the preceding evening; if he sat at tables with Jews, or ate meat slaughtered by their hands, or drank a certain beverage of which they were particularly fond; if he washed a corpse in warm water, or if, in dying, he turned his face toward the wall; or, finally, if he gave Hebrew names to his children, a provision most cruel, since, by a previous law, he was prohibited from giving them Christian names.<sup>1</sup>

It does not come within the scope of this work to study the workings of this dread arm of the Church. That has been adequately covered elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> Suffice it to mention that all trials were in secret. The accused was held

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<sup>1</sup>Prescott, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup>The literature on the Inquisition and the Inquisition in Spain is enormous. Unfortunately, most of it is greatly biased, dealing with it in either laudatory or condemnatory terms. For the Inquisition in general see Lea, A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages, 3 vols., New York, 1888. Rule, History of the Inquisition, 2 vols, London, 1874. Lud. A. Paramo, De orig. et progressu officii s. inquis., Madrid, 1598. P. Limborch, Hist. inquis., Amster-

incomunicado and could consult with his advocate only in the presence of an inquisitor. He was not informed of his charge nor yet of his accusers (it was expected that his troubled conscience would communicate to him the reason for his imprisonment). Any testimony given in his defense was subjected to the closest scrutiny whereas no qualifications were required for the witnesses of the prosecution. If the prisoner refused to confess his guilt, he was subjected to torture.<sup>1</sup> Following his conviction, the celebrated "auto de fe" was held. This was with great pomp in the presence of the grandees of the realm and often with royalty itself present. The accused were brought from their cells, clad in their "san benitos", a yellow garment embroidered with a scarlet cross and adorned with figures

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<sup>1</sup> Lea, Inq. of Spain, vol. iii, chap. i.

of devils and flames of fire. The greater part of the sufferers were condemned to be "reconciled", a term which meant not pardon or amnesty, but the commutation of capital punishment for a lesser one, usually fines, confiscation of their property, civil incapacity, and, frequently life imprisonment. Those who were to be "relaxed" were committed as impenitent heretics to the secular powers who meted out the death sentence.<sup>1</sup>

The first notice we have of Ximenez in connection with the Inquisition is in the year 1496 when he acted, not in the capacity of inquisitor but as the judge of inquisitors. King Ferdinand, who had ever been jealous of the vast wealth being confiscated by the Inquisition and supposedly to the benefit of the crown, had learned that inquisitors were disposing of the property of the condemned without his knowledge or consent and were thereby depriving the royal exchequer of vast sums. He therefore lodged a complaint with the papal court whereupon Pope Alexander VI appointed Archbishop Ximenez, March 29, 1496, to examine the matter and, if necessary, compel the infractors to restore to the crown those revenues of which it had been deprived.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Prescott, p. 176, quoting Pragmaticas del Reino, fol. 5,6.

<sup>2</sup>Hefele 381-83. All arguments to the contrary, it is quite evident that, at least in the mind of Ferdinand, the Inquisition was as much an agency for replenishing the coffers of the crown as it was to purify the faith.

We next hear of the activities of Ximenez, as they are related to the Inquisition, three years later (1499), when Inquisitor-General, Fray Diego de Deza, delegated him with inquisitorial powers as a means of preserving the faith in Granada following the mass conversion of the Moors.

With the departure of Ximenez from Granada, his inquisitorial powers there came to a close and no more is heard of him in this respect until eight more years had elapsed and, about the middle of June, 1507, he received a letter from King Ferdinand, dated May 17th, in which he is told of his appointment as Inquisitor-General. In this letter, written by his own hand, Ferdinand states that in view of his great indebtedness to the Archbishop and of his dismissal of the Archbishop of Seville (Deza) as Inquisitor-General, he had prevailed upon the Pope to appoint Ximenez to that exalted position; but he has two requests to make; first, that he shall foster piety and religion by appointing only the best men and that he shall do what he can to safeguard the dignity of the Archbishop of Seville.<sup>1</sup>

According to Zurita, the dismissal of Deza was at the instigation of the Grand-Constable and of Ximenez because the latter, as it has already been pointed out, was coveting the position of Inquisitor-General as well as the

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 77.

Cardinal's hat and was able to attain both ambitions because of King Ferdinand's obligation to him.<sup>1</sup> But this is, most likely, a gratuitous interpretation of events as Llorente himself denies Ximenez had inquisitorial aspirations.<sup>2</sup> The dismissal of Deza was due, more than to anything else, to the scandalous conduct of his assistant Diego Rodriguez de Lucero which had brought the Holy Office into disrepute and had heaped Deza with such opprobrium as to vitiate his administration.

The fame of Lucero had spread far and wide. Soon after his appointment as inquisitor for Cordoba, in 1500, he became noted for his severity and cruelty. His religious zeal was so akin to fanaticism that many believed him insane.<sup>3</sup> Not satisfied with prosecuting unnumbered New Christians, many of whom he deprived of life as well as of property and honor, he began to prosecute Old Christians, among whom were many persons of influence and wealth. With an unbelievable cruelty, regardless of their age or rank, he fearlessly brought them before the inquisitorial body and ruthlessly meted out fines, imprisonment, and other punishments, razed the houses of the condemned and scattered

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<sup>1</sup>Anales, lib. vii, cap. xxix.

<sup>2</sup>quoted by Retana, vol. i, 429.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Martyr suggests his name should have been Tenebrerius and not Lucerius, Epist., 333.

the ground with salt, a practice which had been instituted only for synagogues.

The extremities to which Lucero resorted, prompted many of the nobility to denounce him before King Philip, notwithstanding the power of the Inquisition and the risks involved in opposing it. They accused Lucero of falsely arresting many, of accepting perjured testimony, of usurping privileges not delegated to him, and of meting out obvious injustice. As a result of their complaints, which may have been made more eloquent by substantial monetary gifts, Philip, though still in Flanders, issued a decree, September 30, 1505, ordering the Inquisition to suspend all activities until such time as he and Joanna should arrive in Spain.<sup>1</sup> Inasmuch as King Ferdinand was still in Spain, Philip's decree was ignored by the Inquisition and Lucero was free to continue with his irascible proceedings.

The most celebrated trial to be initiated by him was that of the saintly Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, concerning whom mention has already been made. History has yet to uncover the reason for Lucero's enigmatic conduct toward Talavera. According to Llorente, he conceived the idea of accusing that prelate of Judaizing tendencies because he had from the beginning opposed the  
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<sup>1</sup> Archivo de Simancas, Libro de Camara, num 11, quoted by Retana, vol. i., p. 432.

introduction of the Inquisition, had protected the suspected neophytes and was, on his mother's side, of Jewish extraction.<sup>1</sup> Menendez Pelayo, however, ascribes a possible reason to Talavera's having belonged to the Conventual monastic order while the great majority of the inquisitors belonged to the Observantine and enmity prompted Lucero's action.<sup>2</sup> Still another theory that has been propounded suggests that it was because Talavera had on a former occasion ordered the return of some property which had been alienated from the crown during the reign of King Henry and which had been in the custody of several of those who composed the inquisitorial tribunal of Cordoba.<sup>3</sup> At any rate, Lucero charged Talavera with heresy and instituted proceedings against him and many of his relatives, some of whom were imprisoned, including Talavera's sister and her two daughters, and his nephew Francisco Herrera, dean of the cathedral of Granada. Talavera himself was saved from a similar fate only because he could not be imprisoned without the Pope's sanction which sanction, however, had been

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<sup>1</sup> Llorente, vol. i., p. 341 (2nd Ed. Paris, 1818). Hefele, p. 383, offers the same conclusions.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. de los Heterodoxos Españoles, vol. i., Epilogue.

<sup>3</sup> Suarez, Hist. Ms. de Talavera, p. 261, quoted by Retana, vol. i., p. 439.



immediately sought after the commencement of proceedings.<sup>1</sup>

King Ferdinand, who was in a position to help his former confessor, whose orthodoxy he certainly could not impugn, refrained from taking part in the controversy, possibly because he himself was too occupied with Philip. The result was that Pope Julius, June 13, 1506, acceded to the Inquisition's request and granted the necessary authority to proceed against Talavera.<sup>2</sup> What became of the papal bull is unknown. Whether King Ferdinand became aware of the jeopardy of Talavera and ordered it withheld by his ambassador at Rome or whether Ximenez had it destroyed after its arrival at Spain, is not certain, but it is quite certain that it never reached the hands of the Inquisition.

The accusations against Talavera and the members of his family created a sensation throughout all Spain so much so that Deza felt it would be prudent to intrust Ximenez, as primate of Spain, with the examination of the orthodoxy of the distinguished Archbishop of Granada. Ximenez, however, refused that responsibility but sent a complete report of the matter to Pope Julius instead, hoping, thereby, to take the case out of the hands of the Inquisition altogether and place it within the jurisdiction

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, vol. i., 438, quoting from the same Ms.

<sup>2</sup>Retana, vol. i., p. 440.

of the papal court.<sup>1</sup> Julius, therefore, through his Nuncio in Spain, Juan Rufo, appointed a special commission, headed by Fray Francisco de Mayorga, bishop of Tagaste, to adjudicate the matter. But as those who were accused denied its authority and the witnesses refused to testify, Ximenez and the Council were compelled to intervene.<sup>2</sup>

The trial finally got under way in the spring of 1507. The advocate for Talavera was the canon Gonzalez Cabezas who was ably aided by Peter Martyr, a staunch friend of the Archbishop and his most eloquent defender. He reminded the judges of the saintliness of Talavera, of his untiring zeal for the propagation of the faith and for the conversion of the Moors, and of the venerable age which he had attained in the service of the Church.<sup>3</sup> At the conclusion of the trial, though himself not an inquisitor, Ximenez in his capacity of regent, settled the matter by royal decree,<sup>4</sup> and sent a copy of the proceedings to the papal court which confirmed his action and the acquittal of Talavera and his relatives.<sup>5</sup> But Talavera did not live to enjoy long his

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<sup>1</sup>Llorente, vol. i., p. 342 (2nd ed. of Paris).

<sup>2</sup>Peter Martyr, Epist. 334.

<sup>3</sup>Peter Martyr, loc. cit. Talavera was then eighty years of age.

<sup>4</sup>Gomez Bravo, Obispos de Cordoba, vol. i., p. 401, quoted by Retana, vol. i., p. 441.

<sup>5</sup>Hefele, p. 384.

vindication. Within a few days, according to a letter of his friend Peter Martyr,<sup>1</sup> he passed beyond the pale of the Inquisition's influence. Three days later, May 17, 1507, Ximenez was appointed Inquisitor-General.

Meanwhile, the citizenry of Cordoba were fast becoming satiated with the doings of Lucero and his indiscriminate arrests. October 6, 1506, under the leadership of the Marquis de Priego, they stormed the city's prison and released all persons put there by the Inquisition, an act for which the marquis was to pay dearly upon the return of Ferdinand to Spain. The marquis, in concert with the cathedral chapter and the city's magistrates, then demanded of Deza that he depose Lucero and, when Deza refused to do so, the insurrection took on alarming proportions and threatened to sweep throughout all Andalusia. King Ferdinand, now awakened to the seriousness of the situation, became convinced that Deza could no longer preside as Inquisitor-General. Accordingly, he requested of that individual his resignation and, on receiving it, secured the appointment of Ximenez, in his stead, but with this modification, that he should be Inquisitor-General of Castile and Leon, only.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Epist. 334.

<sup>2</sup>Juan Enguera, Bishop of Vich, was commissioned grand-inquisitor of Aragon. Both he and his successor, the Carthusian Luis Mercader, died not very long after their appointment. The office of Inquisitor-General of Aragon was then offered to Ximenez, who refused to accept it but, by his advice, it was offered to Adrian, the dean of Louvain, who later became Pope Adrian VI. After the death of Ximenez both offices were again combined and administered by Adrian. Hefele, p. 386, 7.

The available material dealing with the cases that came before Ximenez as Inquisitor-General is, unfortunately, very limited. According to Hefele, Llorente records only four cases that came before Ximenez for his adjudication. The most important and sensational of these was of the inquisitor of Cordoba, Diego Rodriguez de Lucero. Francisco de Mayorga, apostolic delegate in the matter of Talavera, had ordered his arrest October 17, 1507, but nothing came of it. The continued clamor of the people for his deposition, however, to which Deza persisted in turning a deaf ear, finally forced Ximenez and the Suprema to take cognizance of the seriousness of the situation and they independently ordered the arrest of Lucero. Possibly because this was the first time an inquisitor had been called to account for official malfeasance, or possibly because Ximenez sought to placate the wrath of the people, he proposed to make the trial a spectacular affair which would both serve as an example to other zealous inquisitors and exalt the dignity of the office.<sup>1</sup> Heavily chained, Lucero was taken to Burgos, where the court was then residing, and lodged in a well guarded castle.<sup>2</sup> All suspected witnesses were likewise arrested.

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<sup>1</sup>Lea, op. cit., p. 207.

<sup>2</sup>His arrest brought rejoicing to all Spain. Peter Martyr exclaimed, "He is already imprisoned in the castle of Burgos, and a Tenebrero well guarded. Now it will be shown that he truly was an iniquitous judge", Epist. 393.

The trial was carried on before a special "Catholic Congregation," assembled for the purpose and consisting of twenty-one members besides Ximenez, included among whom were the Inquisitor-General of Aragon, a large portion of the Royal Council, several bishops and other dignitaries.<sup>1</sup> After numerous sessions, they made public their findings July 9, 1508, and decreed that Lucero had been guilty of unwarranted prosecutions and of accepting inadmissible evidence; that the character of the witnesses was vile, contemptible, and unworthy of confidence; that their declarations were full of contradictions; that they contained things unworthy of belief, and contrary to common sense. Those falsely accused were, therefore, set at liberty; their honor, and that of those who had already perished, was reestablished; the houses which had been destroyed as private synagogues were ordered rebuilt at the crown's expense; and everything related to their fictitious crimes expunged from the records.<sup>2</sup>

Sentence was rendered on Lucero at Valladolid, August 1, 1508, in the presence of the King and a large assembly of ecclesiastics and grandees. He was then confined to a prison in Burgos but one year later was released and, though deprived of the dignity of bishop, he was returned

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 77. Hefele, p. 387-88. Lea, op. cit., vol. i. pp. 206-08.

<sup>2</sup>Llorente, Eng. abridged ed., p. 78.

to Almeria with his former rank of canon.<sup>1</sup>

The second trial mentioned by Llorente took place in 1511 and concerned a "beata" (a so-called saint) of Piedrahita, in the diocese of Avila, who belonged to the third order of St. Dominic. She called herself the bride of Christ and claimed to be in relation with Him and the Virgin Mary, holding frequent converse with both. At the request of Ferdinand, she was brought to Madrid where both he and Ximenez had converse with her. Not knowing just how to settle her case, Ximenez called into consultation several theologians. Some of them declared her to be a visionary or the victim of hallucinations, while others believed her to be a saint, but all were agreed that there were no indications of heresy present. Ximenez, therefore, ordered her release and enjoined the tribunal to spare her further molestation.<sup>2</sup>

The third case recorded concerns Juan Enriquez de Medina, whom the inquisitors of Cuenca had declared heretical following his death and had ordered the confiscation of his property. His heirs appealed the case before the Inquisitor-

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 77.

<sup>2</sup>Llorente, Critique de l'inquis., vol. i, p. 362. Sometimes she asserted Christ was with her, sometimes that she herself was Christ. Often she held conversations with the Virgin in which she spoke for both, and they would ceremoniously contend about precedence, as when passing through a doorway. The Virgin would say, "The Bride of so great a son should go first," to which she would reply, "If you had not borne Christ, I would not have been his bride; the mother of my spouse must have every honor."

General who appointed a special commission of review. The Inquisition's refusal to supply the names of the witnesses caused the heirs to appeal to Pope Leo X who issued a brief, February 8, 1517, and another one, May 9th, of the same year, ordering, under pain of excommunication, the communication of the acts and an equitable judgment, whereby Enriquez was absolved.<sup>1</sup>

The last trial cited by Llorente ended only after the death of Ximenez. It involved Juan de Covarrubias, a school-fellow of Pope Leo, also accused of heresy following his death. The case was aggravated by his having already previously appeared before the Inquisition although he was absolved at the time. But in an effort to protect him, Leo had the case transferred to Rome, whereupon Ximenez strongly remonstrated against this unwarranted meddling with the Holy Office. He died, however, before the matter was settled.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding that Ximenez had shown himself a most severe inquisitor during his sojourn at Granada, the years that had elapsed between then and his appointment as Inquisitor-General, added to the unpopularity of the Inquisition because of the Lucero scandal, had shown him the need for unusual prudence and he therefore assumed his new duties

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<sup>1</sup>Hefele, p. 394

<sup>2</sup>Hefele, p. 395. Dr. Hefele mentions still another case but by his own admission it is doubtful if Ximenez had a part in it. Hence, it has been omitted in this discussion.

exercising extreme caution.<sup>1</sup> One of his earliest acts was to address a letter to all the churches prescribing the deportment of the New Christians in matters of religion. He particularly emphasized their need of attending the mass, of being instructed in the doctrines of the Church, and in avoiding suspicions of apostasy, witchcraft, blasphemy, and Judaistic practices.<sup>2</sup> It is quite evident that the priests in charge of the New Christians did not take these instructions very seriously as Ferdinand, in 1510, also sent a communication to all the priests of the realm, in which he calls their attention to the neglect of Christian observances by the Conversos and orders all bishops to enforce their attendance at mass and to provide them with a more adequate instruction in the beliefs of the faith.<sup>3</sup> But not even this royal decree was given much consideration for two years later, the Council of Seville, still emphasizes the need the Conversos have for instruction in Christian truths and orders parish priests to keep a record of all parishioners who had conformed to the mandates of the Church.<sup>4</sup>

Within a short time after Ximenez received his commis-

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<sup>1</sup>Llorente attributes his caution chiefly to his fear that the Cortes might be convened following another scandal in the Inquisition and Ximenez might be deprived of his office of governor of the kingdom (Eng. ed. p. 77).

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 77.

<sup>3</sup>Lea, Hist. of Inquis. in Spain, vol. iii, p. 327.

<sup>4</sup>ibid.



sion, he also undertook the re-organization of the Inquisition. Originally its tribunals had been created to correspond geographically to the various dioceses in Spain.

Wholly aware that it would be impossible for him to visit every tribunal in the course of a year, in 1509, Ximenez reduced their number to nine but added a tenth one, that of Cuenca, four years later.<sup>1</sup>

He similarly instituted many other needed reforms. The care of female prisoners had ever been a perplexing one. With everything that occurred within the prisons shrouded in secrecy, as was everything else pertaining to the Inquisition, the helpless female inmates were virtually at the mercy of their male jailers. At Toledo, the assistant to the jailer had taken advantage of his position and had had sexual relations with many of the women prisoners, which caused no little scandal when it became known.<sup>2</sup> To correct the glaring abuse, which evidently prevailed elsewhere, Ximenez, in 1512, issued an order punishing with death any jailer or assistant having culpable relations with a female prisoner.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Retana, vol. i., p. 450.

<sup>2</sup>Hefeles, p. 292.

<sup>3</sup>Lea, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 524. But even this did not prevent the recurrence of outrages. In 1590, Andres de Castro, alcaide of the Valencia prison was tried for seducing a female prisoner, kissing and soliciting others, allowing communications between prisoners, and accepting bribes from their kindred (Lea, op. cit., loc. cit.).

Other reforms pertained to the greater efficiency of the Holy Office. In the year 1516, he abolished the special office of receivers of penances and put the fines and penances into the hands of the receivers of confiscations. At the same time he abolished also the office of receiver-general of fines and penances.<sup>1</sup> As he had become aware that the receivers had collected large sums of money from confiscation and other sources, for which some of them had rendered no account, he appointed an auditor-general to visit every tribunal, examine all records, demanding all vouchers and other documentary evidence involved, and to compel the surrender of all balances due. He was furthermore empowered to enforce his orders by punishment, if necessary.<sup>2</sup> As there were some members of the Inquisition apparently beyond his powers, Ximenez secured from the Pope, by a brief dated August 18, 1509, fuller and added powers which gave him jurisdiction over all officers, even including members of the Suprema.<sup>3</sup>

Another reform, but of a more inconsequential nature, was to change the cross of the "san Benito" from the Latin cross to that of St. Andrew's so that, according to Llor-ente, "the cross of Christ might not be dishonored by being

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<sup>1</sup>Lea, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 392.

<sup>2</sup>Lea, op. cit., p. 366.

<sup>3</sup>Lea, op. cit., vol. i, p. 215.

represented on the garments of the condemned."<sup>1</sup>

The greatest difficulties which Ximenez encountered in putting these and other reforms into effect, was at the hands of his officers, many of whom were officious and insubordinate. When he was appointed to his office, his commission as usual contained the powers of appointing, removing, and punishing all subordinates, but those who had been appointed by Deza became intractable following Deza's resignation feeling, perhaps, that Ximenez had no jurisdiction over them. Hence, his request from the Pope of the brief alluded to above to make all subordinates answerable to him.<sup>2</sup>

But of all officials the most troublesome were the familiars, officials appointed without cost and ready to do any duty at any moment. Indiscriminately appointed, with no record of their appointment furnished the magistrates, given power to bear arms and civil immunities, many of them went about in bands disturbing the peace and leading to all kinds of troublesome dissensions between the civil authorities and the inquisitorial tribunals. In an effort to correct this evil, Ximenez ordered their names to be entered in a book and a copy furnished the corregidores, but without success. It was necessary for Ferdinand himself to intervene but the abuse was not checked until he

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted by Hefele, p. 393.

<sup>2</sup>Lea, op. cit., vol. i., p. 178, note.

threatened with drastic measures.<sup>1</sup>

Another abuse on the part of many inquisitors was the commutation of the "san benito" for a monetary consideration. Although inquisitors were prohibited from granting these commutations, possibly because the temptation to retain the proceeds might be too great, many of them were nevertheless doing so regularly. When Ximenez learned of this practice, in 1513, he decreed that henceforth that right should be reserved solely for the inquisitor-general.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the many reforms Ximenez instituted and the many abuses he corrected, there was one important and altogether just reform which he steadfastly refused to make, namely, that of abolishing the iniquitous practice of shrouding in secrecy all proceedings of the Inquisition, but more particularly, the withholding of the names of the witnesses and their testimony as well as the crime with which the accused was charged.

Several attempts had been made by the New Christians, however, to obtain a greater publicity for the trials. During the war with Granada, when Ferdinand and Isabella were in financial straits, the Conversos had offered them 1,200,000 ducats for such a concession but the sovereigns

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<sup>1</sup>Lea, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 273,74.

<sup>2</sup>Lea, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 392.

refused.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, when Ferdinand was engaged in the war with Navarre, they made a similar offer of 600,000 ducats in exchange for granting their request. When Ximenez heard of it, he exhorted the king not to accede to their wishes but that if he was tempted by the monetary consideration involved, out of his own purse, Ximenez would gladly indemnify him for his refusal.<sup>2</sup>

Following the death of Ferdinand, while Charles was still in Flanders, there came to Spain a rumor that the young king proposed to abolish the practice of suppressing the names of witnesses as he had been informed of the many abuses to which such procedure led. When Ximenez heard that the Conversos were again seeking the same privileges before the court of the Inquisition that prevailed before civil tribunals, and were offering 800,000 ducats in payment for them,<sup>3</sup> he commissioned his secretary Ayala, March 11, 1517, to enter a vigorous protest and resist all attempts to modify the established practice. Six days later, he followed this commission with a strong letter to the Sovereign himself in which he advised of the disastrous effects such legislation would have on the Inquisition. After reminding Charles of the attitude of the Catholic

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<sup>1</sup>Lea, op. cit., vol. i., p. 217.

<sup>2</sup>Llorente, (Engl. ed.), p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Llorente, op. cit., loc. cit. -According to Lea, vol. i, p. 217, it was only 400,000.

Kings in this matter and of the untoward fate of accusers in instances when their names were known, he continued by stating that "the hatred against the informers is indeed so great that, if the publication of their names is not prevented, they will not only be assassinated in private and public, but even at the foot of the altar. No one will be found in future willing to risk his life by similar denunciations; this would be the ruin of the Holy Tribunal, and the cause of God would be left without a defender. I live in confidence your Majesty, my King and Lord, will not become unfaithful to the Catholic blood which runs in your veins, but be convinced that the Inquisition is a tribunal of God, and an excellent institution of your Majesty's ancestors."<sup>1</sup> Charles left the affair undecided until his arrival in Spain but in 1518, after the Cardinal's death, he terminated it according to the general hopes.<sup>2</sup>

We know nothing for certain concerning the number of trials that were conducted during the tenure of Ximenez as a great number of the records of the Inquisition have been destroyed. According to Llorente, Ximenez permitted the condemnation of 52,855 persons, of whom 3564 were burnt alive, and 1232 in effigy, and the remainder suffer-----

<sup>1</sup>Hefele, pp. 397-98, gives the text of the letter in full.

<sup>2</sup>Llorente (Eng. ed.), p. 81.

ing the various lesser punishments of imprisonment, fines, penances or the wearing of the "san benito."<sup>1</sup> But Dr. Hefelee very properly reminds his readers that Llorente has fallen into the gross error of basing his computation on eleven years of inquisitorial administration, when Ximenez was grand-inquisitor only ten, and of making him also responsible for the trials in Aragon.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Lea believes Llorente's figures are possibly exaggerated,<sup>3</sup> and in this he has been corroborated by the testimony of eyewitnesses. Hernando Pulgar, who lived during that period, states that up to the time of Ximenez, when the Inquisition had been the most active, there were fifteen thousand persons who had been sentenced and, of these, "many were burnt in divers cities and towns to the number of two thousand men and women."<sup>4</sup> The Curate of los Palacios, who was also the chaplain of the Archbishop of Seville, writes that in the first eight years of the Inquisition, eight hundred were burnt and more than five thousand were reconciled, but it is not quite clear whether he refers to all of Spain or only to the diocese of Seville.<sup>5</sup> Yet, on the

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<sup>1</sup>ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Hefelee, p. 399.

<sup>3</sup>Hist. of Inq. of Spain, vol. iv., pp. 513-24.

<sup>4</sup>Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos, cap. lxxxvii.

<sup>5</sup>Cronica de los Reyes de Castilla, cap. xliv.

the other hand, in 1524, an inscription was placed on the fortress of Triana, Seville, running: "In the year 1481, under the pontificate of Sixtus IV and the rule of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Inquisition was begun here. Up to 1524, 20,000 heretics and more abjured their awful crime on this spot and nearly 1000 were burnt."<sup>1</sup>

Hefele would reduce Llorente's figures by half but with even this reduction the record of Ximenez is not a pleasant one.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless when he was chosen as chief of an institution which had more power and was better obeyed than many sovereigns, it was his duty to uphold it and defend it. He was unyielding in the prosecution of ridding his country of the taint of heresy, but he never gave way to the temptation of using his office for his own advantage and enriching himself from the sequestered property of the Conversos, as his predecessors are believed to have done. Circumstances, and not his seeking, forced him into that new position and, though not averse to using his added power, he wielded it honestly and justly.

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<sup>1</sup>Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, vol. v. Part ii, p. 553.

<sup>2</sup>Hefele, loc. cit.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE CONQUEST OF ORAN

Engrossed as he was by the many cares of State and Church, which were ever increasing in number and importance, Ximenez still found time to dream. He dreamed of the day when the force of Islam having been pushed farther and farther back, the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem would again become the proud possession of the followers of Christ. He looked across the sea to the African Coast, once the stronghold of Christianity and a flourishing Church under such distinguished leaders as Cyprian and Augustine, and longed for the day when the cross would supplant the crescent and all Mediterranean peoples would be united in one faith even as was his beloved Spain.

How long he had this dream no one knows. He may have had it all his life. He was born and grew in an age when even little children were taught to hate Mohammedanism and its devotees, and to seek martyrdom at their hand in the spreading of the glory of God.<sup>1</sup> At any rate, we are informed by his biographers that as early as 1494, when in

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<sup>1</sup>The author has already pointed out this in a former chapter calling attention to the fact that even a generation after the fall of Granada and the expulsion of the Moors, this attitude still prevailed.

Gibraltar, in the course of his visitation of the Franciscan convents as their newly elected provincial, he wistfully gazed across the water to the African shores and longed to pass over into Africa, like the founder of his order had many years before, to preach there the word of God and, Providence willing, be martyred for it by the infidel.<sup>1</sup> But he was deterred from crystallizing his dream into reality by the intervention of a "beata", or nun belonging to the Third Order, who assured him that God had greater things in store for him. At the same time he was hastily summoned to the court by his sovereigns who wished to discuss with him the monastic reforms.

Eleven years later, he met a Venetian engineer and traveller, Jeronimo Vianelo, with whom he discussed at great length the possibilities of an African campaign and from whom he received much information, of military value.<sup>2</sup> Hence, immediately on Gonzalo de Cordoba's return to Spain, following his successful Italian campaigns, Kimenez besought Ferdinand to use his well-seasoned troops in a north African campaign pointing out to him that he would not only bring thereby honor to the Church in destroying the stronghold of Islam, but that he would rid the Barbary coast of the many pirates that infested it and would place Spain in

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<sup>1</sup>Vallejo, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Vallejo, p. 77. Vianelo amplified his description by a relief map which later greatly expedited the military operations.

a strategic position from a military and commercial point of view as well. Notwithstanding these convincing arguments, Ferdinand at first demurred pleading financial difficulties but on being assured that the Cardinal would be willing to underwrite the expenses out of his own revenues, he finally consented. In September of 1505, a fleet under the command of Diego de Cordoba and Raimondo de Cardona was sent against the town of Mazarquivir, a port of considerable importance which was also noted for the many pirates that made their base there. The campaign was successful and, September 13th, the town was taken over by the Spaniards, a garrison established, and Cordoba became its governor.

The relative ease with which Mazarquivir had been captured fired the imagination of Ximenez who once more visualized the penetration of Christian forces into Moorish lands and the ultimate seizure of the Holy Sepulchre. He now made efforts not only in enlisting the sympathies of Ferdinand, but of the kings of England and Portugal as well. Of the three, the King of Portugal seems to have become the most enthusiastic respondent for, on one occasion, in endorsing the project, he expatiates at length on the great esteem he has for Ximenez, his profound respect for his pious desires, and of his own personal longings for the overthrow of the Moors. He concludes the letter by saying that "nothing could possibly give the Christian sovereigns

greater joy than to receive in the Holy Sepulchre the sacred elements of the sacrament from the Archbishop's own hands."<sup>1</sup> But eventually nothing came from the negotiations. Ferdinand was too busily occupied with Philip and the constant quarrels of Julius II with the French and the incessant wars in Italy, precluded a united Christendom which was so essential for a holy crusade.

Ximenez, however, did not dismiss his cause as a lost one. Shortly after Ferdinand's return from Naples and his resumption of the administration of Castile, Ximenez again made overtures seeking his support. Though now more amenable to the Cardinal's schemes, particularly as Cordoba had been surprised by the Moors who had inflicted serious losses on the Spaniards, Ferdinand again plead the lack of funds. Possibly anticipating such a reply, Ximenez immediately offered to lend the sovereign, from his own revenues, whatever sums would be necessary to carry on the engagement and that, if the King desired it, he himself, though in his seventy-second year, was willing to lead the expedition. In view of such favorable conditions, that promised great returns with little risk, at the same time that they rid the court of one with whom he had to share his popularity, Ferdinand readily yielded.

The objective of the expedition was to be the city of

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 78.

Oran, not far distant from Mazarquivir, and almost immediately opposite Cartagena, in Spain. It was a strongly fortified city, situated on a high promontory overlooking the sea, and regarded as impregnable by the six thousand Moors who inhabited it.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, its reputation for great wealth made it an attractive prize for the soldiers of fortune of that day whose chief compensation was the booty of war.

Ximenez had sought to enlist the services of the "Great Captain", Gonzalo de Cordoba, whom he had already consulted about the campaign and whom he gladly would have entrusted with the command of the undertaking. But Ferdinand thought otherwise and appointed Ximenez Commander-in-Chief and, second in command, Pedro Navarro, a veteran who had already distinguished himself under Gonzalo de Cordoba and had also engaged in a north African war in the services of Portugal.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Zurita, lib. viii, cap. xx.

<sup>2</sup>It does not quite appear at whose instance Navarro was appointed, whether at the King's or at Cordoba's. But the appointment was in many respects a most unfortunate one. Navarro was one of those rare individuals who, like an errant star, suddenly appears on the horizon and as suddenly disappears. Both his family name and the land of his birth are unknown. He was known to his contemporaries only as Navarro but it is not likely that he was born in Navarre. He had travelled far and wide and had been a pirate in his younger days, robbing alternately Christian and Mohammedan. As a warrior he had distinguished himself in many campaigns, both in the service of Spain and of her enemies. He was a man of iron and was wholly lacking in the finer sensibilities. It would have been difficult to find two men whose temperaments were more uncongenial than Navarro's and Ximenez'. (Retana, vol. i, pp. 315-16.)

Others included on the staff were the engineer Vianelo, because of his familiarity with the terrain,<sup>1</sup> Garcia de Villaroel, governor of Cazorla and nephew of Ximenez, Diego de Vera, in charge of the artillery, and several others, including a number of prelates.<sup>2</sup>

No time was lost in making the necessary preparations. Under the direction of Navarro, the requisite equipment for war, munitions, arms, provisions, and other supplies were assembled at Cartagena.<sup>3</sup> Troops came pouring in from all the provinces of Castile and Aragon to supplement the Italian veterans. A great number came from the diocese of Toledo which, not having been content with contributing a large portion of the volunteers, loaned Ximenez a considerable sum of money to add to the revenues which he had been frugally husbanding for such an enterprise.<sup>4</sup> By the end of spring, 1509, all preparations had been completed and a fleet, consisting of eighty transport vessels, ten galleys, besides a number of smaller vessels, was ready to set sail, with ten thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, and

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<sup>1</sup>Mariana, lib. xxix, cap. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 101.

<sup>3</sup>See Quintanilla "Archetypo...." lib. iii, cap. 19, for a complete list of Navarro's requirements for the campaign.

<sup>4</sup>Gomez, fol. 101.

their equipment, on board.<sup>1</sup>

All these preparations had not been made without their attendant difficulties. At the outset obstacles of every kind were placed in Ximenez' path by those who, because of jealousy or other reasons, wished to see the failure of the expedition. The King early repented of his enthusiasm for the venture and wished to disown responsibility and withdraw his support. The nobles ridiculed the entire procedure and declared that "the world is topsy-turvy; while the 'Great Captain' stays home telling his beads, the Cardinal is preparing to fight the battles of Spain."<sup>2</sup> And no little trouble did Navarro himself occasion. By publicly criticising the Cardinal's every move, by constantly proposing new plans, and by all manner of unnecessary delays, he obviously hoped to gain full command of the expedition.<sup>3</sup> An experienced warrior, he found it definitely humiliating to take orders from an ecclesiastic. Moreover, the Cardinal's plan of paying the soldiers through appointed paymasters and not through their officers had met with great disfavor by the staff as they were denied their accustomed opportunity of defrauding both the troops and the exchequer.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., fol. 107.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., fol. 100.

<sup>3</sup>op. cit., fol. 104.

<sup>4</sup>Cartas del Cardenal, num. xix.

In his program of calumny, Navarro was later joined by Varga and Villalupo, officers in charge of the commissariat and stores. Under one pretext or another, they refused to surrender ordnances and other supplies in their custody and proposed, without the Cardinal's consent, to send the munitions to Mazarquivir by other transports than those comprising the fleet. So pugnacious and insubordinate did they become in their demeanor, that Ximenez finally had to resort to stern measures to subdue them.

Having settled all these difficulties, Ximenez intrusted the administration of the diocese of Toledo to the Bishop of Calahorra, ordered prayers to be said throughout the diocese for the success of the campaign, and made ready to join the fleet at Cartagena. If he had had any misgivings as to the divine approval of his venture, these were soon dissipated for, according to Gomez, as his party was near Bayona, on the road to Toledo, they were suddenly amazed by the appearance in a cloudless sky of an immense cross which gave them complete assurance of God's favor.<sup>1</sup>

Ximenez was destined, however, to face still the perversity of man. On the eve of the fleet's departure a mutiny broke forth among the ranks. It seemingly started with a cobbler from Alcala who began to shout "let him pay; let him pay us; the monk is rich!" His cry was soon

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 112.



echoed by a number of others who left the camp and occupied a nearby hill, threatening with force any attempt to dislodge them. Vianelo, who possibly had instigated the revolt<sup>1</sup> was finally able to overcome the insurrectionists and promptly executed the ring leaders. These extreme measures threatened an adverse influence over the rest of the army and Ximenez, perceiving the danger, dispatched Villaroel to Vianelo with the order to resort to greater mildness in meting out his punishments as most of those soldiers were from his own diocese and were heads of families. Possibly because there had already been some hard feeling between the two, Villaroel discharged his mission with a greater brusqueness than the occasion required, with the result that a violent quarrel ensued. Villaroel thereupon drew his sword and severely wounded Vianelo on the head and, fearing the wrath of the Cardinal, fled to a nearby castle tenanted by one of his relatives. The two combatants were finally reconciled by an officer named Salazar who also was able to quell the mutineers. At the same time Ximenez gave the assurance that everyone would be paid aboard ship and to lend a spectacular note to his promise, he had the bags of gold ceremoniously delivered to the quay and loaded aboard the vessels within the sight of a now cheering army.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hefele, p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> Gomez, fol. 106.

Everything was in readiness by Sunday, May 13, 1509, but adverse weather conditions delayed the sailing until the following Wednesday, the 16th.<sup>1</sup> A favorable wind, however, enabled them to reach Mazarquivir the following evening. Neither Ximenez nor Navarro slept that night in laying their plans for the following day. Signal fires which were seen burning for great distances along the Moorish hills warned them that they must strike quickly before the surrounding country could muster reinforcements for the aid of Oran. Consequently, the order was given to disembark at dawn despite the fatigued condition of many of the soldiers who were unaccustomed to sea travel. In the matter of the cavalry, Navarro contended it would be unwise to disembark them, although he had requisitioned four thousand horsemen, because of the unpropitious terrain. Ximenez saw at once through this flimsy reason, which he knew to be inspired only by Navarro's jealousy of Villaroel, who captained the cavalry, and which sought to prevent him from having a part in the contest even though it meant the possible sacrifice of the campaign. Hence, though Navarro had earlier been assured of being in sole command of the military strategy, Ximenez had to interpose his will, as Commander-in-Chief, and order the disembarkation of the horsemen as well.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cartas del Cardenal, no. xiii.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit. xv and xix.

By ten o'clock the following morning, the main body of troops had disembarked and three hours later saw most of the heaviest weapons and much of the equipment landed.<sup>1</sup> As it was Friday, the Cardinal dispensed the soldiers from the accustomed fast so that they would be better fitted for the attack. As soon as the army was ready for battle, Ximenez mounted his mule, clad in his ecclesiastical vestments and with a belted sword at his side, to review the ranks. He was attended by the other clerics, dressed in their particular garb and each one, like their commander, armed with a weapon of war. Before them, on a spirited white charger, rode a Franciscan friar, of immense stature, who was bearing aloft the primatial cross, the same one that had accompanied Mendoza in the war against the Moors and which he had hoisted on the towers of Granada.<sup>2</sup> As the cavalcade advanced, the clerics sang the hymn "Vexilla regis prodeunt, fulget Crucis mysterium, etc." which made a profound impression upon the troops. After Ximenez had reached a point of vantage, he imposed silence and delivered a brief but stirring address. He reminded them all of the many wrongs which the Moors had inflicted on the Spaniards and their pronounced hatred for Christian ideals and institutions. He called to their attention the oft repeated lament, "The Moors are ravishing our coasts, they -----

<sup>1</sup>op. cit., num. xvii.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 108.

are dragging our children into slavery; they are dishonoring our wives and daughters; they are insulting the Christian name." He appealed to their loyalty to the Church, to their love for their families, to their high sense of patriotism. He appealed to their cupidity as well, reminding them of the rich booty they could expect in Oran. And he concluded his discourse by declaring, "Behold before you the accursed land, the proud and accursed enemy which even now is lusting for your blood. Prove this day that it has not been for lack of courage but for the want of a suitable opportunity that you have not crossed swords with him before. As for myself, my great desire is to be in the front ranks, first in danger, first in victory, and the first to hoist this standard, the symbol of our Christian faith, in the midst of our enemy's forces."<sup>1</sup> He then lifted his hand and blessed the army.

His stirring address, and the sincerity with which he spoke, evoked a thunderous and enthusiastic response from his audience. But however sincere he might have been in wishing to lead the attack, he was prevailed upon to remain behind and he withdrew to the chapel of St. Michael, where, on bended knee and with arms uplifted to heaven, he proposed to spend his time in intercessory prayer.

The strategy that had been determined on was to take possession, as soon as possible, of a hill between Mazar-

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., fol. 109.

quivir and Oran that was the key to the latter and dominated the surrounding country as well. At the same time the navy was to proceed to the seaward wall of Oran and attack it from that side.

Navarro gave the order to advance and, under the protection of a thick mist, the army was able to gain considerable ground undetected. As soon as they emerged from the mist, however, they were met with a shower of stones and arrows that were later supplemented by numerous missiles shot by cross-bows and some light artillery. When the Moors were unable to stop the advance of the Spaniards by these means, throwing discretion to the winds, they rushed down the hillside but still were unable to make any impression on the long pikes and deep ranks with which the Spaniards met them.

Meanwhile, word had come to Ximenez of the delay in disembarking the cavalry which, presumably, Navarro had no intention of calling into action despite the orders given by Ximenez the night before. The Cardinal, consequently, assumed personal command of the operations on the shore, and ordered as many of the horsemen who had disembarked to reenforce the infantry, much to the latter's encouragement, and the others to follow immediately they had landed.<sup>1</sup> Simultaneously, in order to prevent any Moorish surprise attack, he ordered part of the troops to occupy the defiles

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<sup>1</sup>Cartas del Cardenal, num, xvii.

and ravines of the surrounding hills.

The Moors soon began to retreat and the Spaniards, breaking their ranks, pursued them in disorderly fashion and, despite the orders that had been issued, engaged in a hand to hand struggle with the enemy. The first Spaniard to be slain was Luis Contreras whose head, having been cut off, was taken to Oran where it was kicked about the streets as many believed it was of none other than of the Cardinal himself. The Moors being thoroughly routed, the hill was captured by Navarro.

While these advances were being made, the navy had anchored opposite Oran and had opened a spirited cannonading of the city which served the double purpose of deflecting the forces of the enemy and affording protection for the troops still on board to land safely and join their victorious comrades who were by then descending the sierra on their way to the city.<sup>1</sup>

Although a most gratifying progress had been thus far made, Navarro began to doubt the wisdom of continuing with the attack. The day was fast coming to a close. Within the city walls the Moors were many and well armed, Navarro's men were greatly fatigued, and they lacked the necessary scaling ladders to overcome the seemingly impregnable fortification. In his perplexity he hastened for advice

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<sup>1</sup>For a fuller description of the combat, see Gomez, loc. cit.; Quintanilla, Archetypo..., lib. 3, cap. 19; Zurita Anales, lib. 8, cap. 30.

to Ximenez who is reported to have replied, "Navarro, in this engagement, Christ, the Son of the Most High, and the imposter Mohammed, are about to contend. To defer the battle, would, I consider, not only be injurious and dangerous, but also sinful; therefore, be not fearful, but lead your men on to battle; for I am confident that this day you will gain a glorious victory over the enemy."<sup>1</sup>

Navarro, having been greatly encouraged by these words, immediately returned to camp and gave the order to advance. Future events demonstrated the wisdom of the Cardinal's decision as shortly after the city had fallen, the mezuar of Tremesen arrived with a powerful detachment to reenforce the Moorish garrison at Oran but, on seeing the city already taken, retreated. His presence the following day, however, well might have reversed the results.

At the head of a detachment of picked Italian veterans, whom he urged on with the cry of "España y Santiago!" Navarro himself was soon in the midst of the fray. His enthusiasm was responded to by a wild frenzy among his followers who broke forth into a wild pursuit of the retreating Moors and gave them no quarter. Their slaughter became the greater when the Moors within the city, seeing the approach of the Spaniards, closed the city's gates to them but on doing so shut them on their own comrades as well. Thus impeded in their progress and with only a few

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 109, translated by Hefele, 415.

poor ladders at hand, it appeared that the Spaniards would be prevented from taking the fortification but, in a desperate assault, they overcame all obstacles; and, planting their long pikes and spears against the walls or thrusting them into the crevices between the stones, they were able to scale the walls with an incredible agility, a feat which they were unable to repeat the following day.<sup>1</sup> The first soldier to gain the top was Captain Sousa who carried the Cardinal's standard and with the cry of "Santiago y Cisneros!", he planted it above the parapet.<sup>2</sup> Within a few moments six other Spanish standards were seen floating above the walls.

As soon as a few of the soldiers had gained the city, they flung open the gates and the whole Spanish army poured through.. A most brutal butchery followed. The Spaniards roamed through the streets searching the houses and putting to the sword everyone they overcame irrespective of age or sex. Caught between the army on the one side, and the bombardment of the navy on the other, the enemy had no alternative than to expose themselves to the mercy of their captors. But there was no mercy. Repeatedly did Navarro call the troops off, but in vain. Every effort to stem the madness went unheeded. The slaughter continued with

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 111.

<sup>2</sup>The standard of the Cardinal was checkered with red and gold squares, and, on the reverse side, a cross against a crimson background. It is to be found on display in the Archeological Museum of Madrid.



unabated fury and was not restrained until Jorge Baracaldo, one of the Cardinal's secretaries, beheld the horrible spectacle of an infant girl suckling the breasts of her slain mother.<sup>1</sup> Not even those who had sought refuge in a mosque were spared. Frustrated in their attempt to force its barricaded door, a few soldiers climbed to its roof and ripped off the tiles until a hole large enough to let them through had been made and, though the distance was great, with sword in hand they recklessly dropped to the floor below where like wild beasts they withheld the fury of the Moors until the door could be unlocked and opened.<sup>2</sup> Finally, exhausted from the butchery and plunder, and drunken with wine and success, the greater number of the army sank into the streets and public squares to sleep next to the heaped bodies they had slain.<sup>3</sup>

The losses of the Moors were terrific. It has been estimated that no less than four thousand were slain and twice that number made captive. The losses of the Spaniards, it has been reported, amounted to only fifteen to

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 111.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., fol. 112.

<sup>3</sup>It seems incredible that so much could have occurred in so little time. According to Quintanilla, Ximenez had been empowered like Joshua of old to make the sun stand still for the space of four hours, Archetypo...pp. 236 ff. Although he marshalled an array of witnesses to prove this in his attempt to have Ximenez beatified, the papal court was unimpressed possibly because this strange phenomenon had not been noted elsewhere but in Oran.

thirty of those who were slain. The booty was enormous and is believed to have exceeded a half million golden ducats. Many of the soldiers, as a result, returned to Spain exceedingly wealthy, some of them having obtained as their share as much as ten thousand ducats.<sup>1</sup>

That same evening Ximenez was apprised of the victory and he spent the rest of the night in praise and thanksgiving. The following day he embarked for Oran and when he saw the Christian standards floating above all the towers, and even above the minarets of the city, his soul swelled with pride in realizing that so strong a fortress had fallen with so little effort. He was met at the port by Navarro and many of the enthusiastic soldiers who, with the clerics, acclaimed him as the true conqueror. He made his triumphal entry by reciting the psalm, "non nobis Domine non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam." When they arrived at the Alcazar, he was presented with the keys of the fortress and the booty which had been taken. Of the latter he took but one fifth, which was the king's share; he then reserved part of the remainder for the maintenance of the army and distributed the rest among the soldiers. For his share he chose only several manuscripts on medicine and astrology, some elaborately decorated chandeliers and basins from the mosques, the keys of the gates and citadel of Oran, and a few other trinkets he wished to take back with him to Alcala.

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<sup>1</sup>Bernaldez, Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos, cap. cxcix.

His greatest reward, he said, was the privilege of liberating some three hundred Christian captives from the dungeons of the city.

Fearful lest the presence of so many dead bodies might result in a pestilence, he ordered them to be cleared from the streets and houses and be buried at once. In the course of their duty, the soldiers discovered so many implements of war and ammunition that they marvelled the city had so easily fallen, and, much to the delight of Ximenez, they also uncovered several secret stores of meal and other supplies.<sup>1</sup>

Ximenez also ordered that the necessary repairs on the fortifications be made at once so that they would be in a position to repel any Moorish counter-attacks. On that very same day he dedicated the two principal mosques to the worship of God, consecrating one to the honour of the Virgin, with the name of the Annunciation, and the other to the memory of St. James, the patron saint of Spain. The following day, Sunday, he organized a solemn procession that included all the ecclesiastics and officers, the liberated Christians, and most of the soldiers, and, singing the Te Deum, they

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<sup>1</sup>The belief was current among the conquerors that Providence had intervened in their behalf. Bishop Cazalla, in a letter to Dr. Villapando, cites many evidences of this, namely, the favorable wind, which impressed even the sailors, a cross which was the first thing he noticed when landing in Africa, the friendly fog that engulfed them when attacking the Moors, a wild boar which the Spaniards had killed as "Mohammed, the prophet", a flock of buzzards that flew above the Moors, a pair of rainbows over Oran, etc. Cartas del Cardenal, ap-  
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marched to the principal mosque (the Church of the Annunciation) where Ximenez celebrated the Pontifical mass.<sup>1</sup>

With an eye to both the physical and spiritual welfare of the soldiers, Ximenez established a hospital, dedicated to St. Bernardin of Siena, and two convents, one for Franciscans and the other for Dominicans, each with six or seven friars.<sup>2</sup> By virtue of his office of Inquisitor-General, he also established a tribunal of the Holy Office in order to prevent any of the converted Spanish-Jews from going over to Oran and there renounce their faith with impunity. Not satisfied with all these foundations, on his return to Spain he contemplated establishing also at Oran a convent for novitiates of the Military Orders, hoping that in the midst of a warring district their courage and virility would be greatly developed. Although he had obtained the necessary sanction from the pope, he was deterred in his project by the indifference of Ferdinand.<sup>3</sup>

The facility with which Oran was taken immediately suggested to Ximenez the advisability of continuing the campaign against the Moor so auspiciously commenced and, in his imagination he already saw the Christian standards planted along the entire north African coast. An event that

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 115.

<sup>2</sup>Cartas del Cardenal, Cartagena, May 24.

<sup>3</sup>op. cit., Alcala, June 18, num. xviii.

gave added impetus to his design was the massacre of all Christian merchants, and even Jews, by the Moors of Tremesen who had become infuriated by the fate of Oran and thus vented their hatred for the Spaniard. Ximenez was prevented from carrying out his intent, however, by two unfavourable circumstances. The first of these was a disagreeable misunderstanding that arose between him and Navarro regarding their respective authority. Navarro had ever been chafing in his subordinate position. Accustomed as he had always been to independent command, it had been as gall to him to receive orders from Ximenez, particularly as he was not a soldier but a monk. Never having taken great pains to conceal his contempt for his superior, he only waited for the propitious moment to give full expression to it. The awaited opportunity presented itself three days after Oran had fallen when an altercation arose between one of the soldiers and a servant of the Cardinal, and when in the ensuing quarrel the latter was killed. When the matter came to the attention of the Cardinal, he proposed to punish the culprit but immediately Navarro intervened and rudely remarked that whatever disorders arose could be blamed on Ximenez. No army, he said, could have two captains and that if he could have his way, the whole of Africa would be conquered in a few months. Furthermore, he pointed out, the King had nominated Ximenez commander-in-chief only for the siege of Oran and, with that city already taken, his powers had therefore ceased. Indeed, he continued, the best thing the Cardinal

could do was to return to his diocese to enjoy the fruits of his victory.<sup>1</sup> Unperturbed, at least outwardly, Ximenez listened to this diatribe in silence and made no reply. The following day, however, he gave his orders as usual which Navarro, readily obeyed, having acknowledged his unbecoming deportment.

The second untoward circumstance was the interception by Ximenez of a letter from Ferdinand to Navarro in which Ferdinand exhorted the latter "to detain the old man in O-ran as long as his presence and his money were of any use and, if necessary, to devise some new scheme to keep him there."<sup>2</sup> Greatly distressed by the thought that Ferdinand wished him to remain in Africa and perhaps die there, Ximenez resolved to return to Spain at once. He called his staff about him and acquainted them with his decision but giving as a reason for it his impaired health so unable to cope with the rigorous climate of that land.<sup>3</sup> He appointed Navarro commander-in-chief and advised him on several matters relative the administration of the new colony. He then appointed Villaroel, the prefect of Cazorla, governor of the fortress and Alonso de Castilla, its alcaide. He

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., num. xix; Gomez, fol. 116.

<sup>2</sup>Flechier, (Madrid ed. 1773) p. 226.

<sup>3</sup>His poor health was not altogether an excuse as he complained to his secretary Ruyz of the excessive heat and how it affected him (Cartas del Cardenal, num. xix).

also provided for the maintenance of the army and of the ecclesiastical establishments and, despite the pleadings of his officers not to desert them in a strange land, he made preparations for his departure.<sup>1</sup> He sailed from Oran Wednesday morning, May 23rd, and arrived at Cartagena that same evening after an absence of only one week.

The news of the victorious Cardinal's return was heralded throughout Spain and later throughout the capitals of Europe. Pope Julius II ordered a special season of rejoicing with solemn processions and other ceremonies climaxing in the church of St. Augustine in honor of that ancient ecclesiastic whose home had been in Africa.<sup>2</sup> Ferdinand invited Ximenez to come at once to Valladolid to receive the congratulations of the court for his valourous exploits. He was too overcome, however, by the duplicity of Ferdinand to accept the invitation but did send the King a complete report of the conquest with much advice for the welfare of Oran which Ferdinand was wise enough to heed. Ximenez departed instead for his beloved Alcala where he was met with wild acclaim by both students and citizens alike who had opened a great breach in the city's walls to accord him the honor befitting a conqueror. He declined this honor, preferring to enter as a humble friar through

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<sup>1</sup>Hefele, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup>Zurita, lib. viii, cap. xlviii.

the usual gate.<sup>1</sup>

Although he had left Oran behind he was still plagued by troubles which arose from it. At the time that he had first planned the campaign, it was with the secret hope of eventually annexing the conquered city to the diocese of Toledo. But the strained feeling existing between him and the King, delayed presenting the necessary petition before the papal court. Meanwhile, Luis Guillen, a friar in Rome who several years before had obtained from the pope a titular bishopric under the title "Auriense", laid claim to Oran as being that diocese and was granted papal recognition of the validity of that claim. As a consequence, a lengthy litigation between him and Ximenez followed in which the latter proved that Oran was a modern city, that it never had been the seat of a bishopric, but that in ancient times there had been one at Auria, twenty leagues distant from Oran. Hence, he told the pretender to establish his church where his diocese was but that as for himself, he would not consent to the diocese of Toledo being deprived of a church which it possessed by virtue of an agreement entered into with the King.<sup>2</sup> The litigation was not finally settled until after the death of the Cardinal when Guillen ended up by being a simple vicar in the diocese of Toledo.

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., cap. xxx.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fols. 127, 128.



Ximenez was similarly exposed to the avarice of Ferdinand and the nobility who, in becoming increasingly jealous of his power, were constantly seeking means to effect his downfall. According to his agreement made with Ximenez, Ferdinand was either to repay the money that had been loaned him for the campaign or he was to convey Oran to the diocese of Toledo. But Ferdinand was quick to see that if he chose the latter alternative, Ximenez would have in his possession one of the most strategic positions in the kingdom. Yet, on the other hand, the exchequer was almost exhausted. In his perplexity, the King sought the advice of the royal council who with great enthusiasm pointed out to him that Ximenez had enriched himself with booty and glory to such an extent as to more than compensate for the financial aid which he had given.<sup>1</sup> Fully aware of the machinations of the nobility, Ximenez again reminded the King of the agreement emphasizing the fact that the only booty which he had brought back was the manuscripts and other articles mentioned above and which he had deposited in the university for the country's enrichment rather than for his own. The King finally consented to the repayment but only on the most humiliating conditions. He required the Cardinal to submit his effects,

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<sup>1</sup>The amount expended for the expedition was a considerable one. According to a list of expenditures to be found in the Archives at Simancas, they amounted to over thirty and a half million of maravedis or about 150,000 pounds sterling.

even his most personal ones, to an exacting search in an effort to determine the spoils he had retained for himself. The effects of the soldiers who had returned were likewise examined and one fifth of their silks, rugs, and such like, confiscated for the crown. Ximenez submitted to this unwarranted indignity in silence and later, out of his own revenues, reimbursed the soldiers of his diocese with the amounts they had forfeited.<sup>1</sup> Not content with this humiliation, Ferdinand is reported once again to have proposed to Ximenez to resign the see of Toledo and exchange it for the archbishopric of Zaragoza, held by the King's natural son Alfonso. Ximenez listened coldly to this suggestion and replied that he would far rather return to his former monastic life than to accede to such a request.<sup>2</sup> Ferdinand, who could ill afford to lose such a valuable minister, refrained from pressing the matter further.<sup>3</sup>

This strained relation between sovereign and primate

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 126.

<sup>2</sup>Prescott, p. 655; Hefele, pp. 433,34.

<sup>3</sup>Although several early writers relate this incident, it is doubtful that it occurred. It must be remembered that Ximenez was at the time Inquisitor-General for Castile, Primate and Cardinal of Spain, and Chancellor of Castile, all of which honors he would have to surrender. At the same time he would have to turn his back onto his beloved Alcala. It is scarcely credible that Ferdinand had hoped Ximenez would be willing to forego all those honors especially since he had already made his attitude so clear on a former similar occasion.

evidently did not continue very long. In the year 1511, the see of Salamanca having become vacant by the death of bishop Juan de Castilla, Jimenez became anxious for his friend and old companion, Francisco Ruiz, to be nominated to it. He therefore sent one of his familiars to present this request to the King. Ferdinand replied that he would gladly have acquiesced to the Cardinal's request had it not been that he had already promised Salamanca to Francisco Bobadilla, the then Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo. But, he added, he would be happy to nominate Ruiz as Bobadilla's successor at Ciudad Rodrigo, an arrangement that was quite satisfactory to the Cardinal and his secretary. A little while later, the bishopric of Avila having become vacant, Ruiz was transferred to it at the request of Ayala, one of the Cardinal's agents, and at the suggestion of King Ferdinand himself.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 130.

C H A P T E R     E I G H TREGENT

Following his return from Oran as a conquering hero, and when all Spain was ready to heap honor on him, Ximenez sought the seclusion of a quiet life in his beloved Alcala. His strange deportment was greatly puzzling to most of the Spaniards but it probably would not have been so, had they understood the unkind treatment which Ximenez received at Ferdinand's hands. Probably the Cardinal's advancing age had something to do with his retirement but undoubtedly what contributed most was his unwillingness to expose himself further to the duplicity of Ferdinand and his court. He preferred to remain in his own diocese, busying himself with its affairs and continuing the oversight of the Polyglot and the completion of the university's buildings.

In the mean time Ferdinand had also become actively engaged with many pressing problems of his own. To the ever present domestic problems were added those connected with the interminable wars in Italy and the annexation of Navarre. The many worries that accompanied these critical affairs of state had begun to undermine his health. He was furthermore greatly disappointed over the failure of issue by his second marriage. Although a son had been born

to Germaine, March 3, 1509, he lived only a few hours.<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand's keen disappointment, stimulated by his increasing hatred for the house of Austria, made him morbid and bitter toward the world. He lost his former zestful interest in statecraft and even in amusements, excepting the chase, to which he gave himself with such abandon that he became the despair of his physicians.

Ferdinand's affliction was greatly intensified by the intelligence of the death of Gonzalo de Cordova, 2nd of December, 1515. Although there had existed at times differences between him and his sovereign, the inevitable differences arising between two strong characters, Ferdinand had always had a great admiration for the "Great Captain". He and his entire court went into mourning. All Spain joined in lamenting their great loss but little did they realize, though, that within a few brief weeks they would be mourning the passing of Ferdinand himself. Nor did Ferdinand have any premonition that he would not survive long the warrior with whom he had shared so many honors.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever his malady may originally have been, it later turned into dropsy, a condition that was further aggravated

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<sup>1</sup>Zurita, Anales, tom. vi, lib. x, cap. lv.

<sup>2</sup>Although his malady seemed to be gaining ground, he pinned his hopes on getting well on the prediction of a "beata" that he would not die until he had conquered Jerusalem. Carbajal, Anales, 1516, cap. 2.

by a heart ailment. He found difficulty in breathing and, though warned by his physician against it, insisted on participating in strenuous outdoor activities which he continued even after the really cold weather of winter had set in. As the winter advanced, he began journeying southward but in January, 1516, he was seized with such a violent attack of illness that when he arrived at Madrigalejo he was prevented from going farther.

Although Ferdinand's physicians exerted their utmost in overcoming his malady, they could see no improvement. His condition became so serious that they despaired of his life, and were compelled to advise him to make ready for any eventuality. One of the most pressing problems was the disposition of the regency of Castile during the absence of Charles from Spain. The king wished it to be settled on his younger grandson, the Infante Ferdinand, for whom he had a great affection, and had even so willed it in a testament drawn up in 1512. His counsellors objected strenuously to the young prince on the grounds that his immaturity precluded his ruling with a firm hand and this was sure to create new factions in Castile if not to make him become, in a sense, a rival of his brother. When the monarch inquired to whom should he then leave the regency, they with one accord suggested Ximenez. Though this choice greatly galled Ferdinand, he was not blind to its wisdom and consented finally to do as advised.

By the advice of the royal council, he drew up a new testament wherein he settled the succession of Aragon and Naples on his daughter Joanna and her heirs. The regency of Aragon was intrusted to Alfonso, archbishop of Zaragoza, who was certain to meet with the approbation of that kingdom. The administration of Castile was committed to Ximenez during the absence of Charles. The will also provided an annual income for his queen Germaine and for the Infante Ferdinand, as well as several other stipulations. It was finally executed the evening of January 22, 1516. A few hours later Ferdinand breathed his last, early on the 23rd. He was buried in the monastery of the Alhambra and later his remains, with those of Queen Isabella were removed to their permanent mausoleum in the cathedral church of Granada.<sup>1</sup>

The very same day that Ferdinand died, his will was read in the presence of the royal council, the ambassadors, and many high civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries. The royal council immediately sent a copy of it to Flanders and another to Ximenez whom they invited to assume the administration of Castile. When the Cardinal received the message of the king's death and of his appointment as regent, he was greatly overcome as he had not anticipated the end of the king was so near. He hastened, therefore,

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<sup>1</sup>Carbajal, Continuacion de los Anales, 1516, cap. 2.

to Guadalupe, where the royal council was, to take over the reins of the government. His arrival was delayed long enough, however, to afford the Infante Ferdinand an opportunity to claim the regency immediately that he was apprised of his grandfather's death. The royal council, knowing that he had been misled by the ill advice of his courtiers, sent him a curt reply to the effect that his brother Charles, and not he, was master.<sup>1</sup>

Ximenez was in his eightieth year when once again he was taken from a life of seclusion and was thrust, by force of circumstances, into a position of grave responsibility that demanded his utmost of alertness, sagacity, and energy. At the very outset he met with opposition of Adrian, the dean of Louvain, who claimed plenipotentiary rights from Charles that entitled him to the regency. As a matter of fact, neither he nor Ximenez had any legal rights to it, something which they were quite ready to perceive. Ximenez claimed it by the appointment of Ferdinand, himself a regent, who had no right to name a successor, and Adrian claimed it by powers granted by Charles when he had no jurisdiction in Castile. The dilemma in which they found themselves was finally settled by both parties agreeing to share the authority pending the arrival of definite instructions from Charles.<sup>2</sup> Three weeks later, February 14th, these instructions ar-

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 149.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., fol. 150.



rived confirming the regency of Ximenez and the appointment of Adrian only as an ambassador. Nevertheless, because of his great influence over his former pupil Charles, and because of the confidence Ximenez himself had in him, the two ecclesiastics continued the joint administration of Castile.

One of the first acts of Ximenez in his new office, was to visit the Infante Ferdinand and attach him to his household. The Cardinal felt that under his watchful eye the young prince would be less likely to become involved in any schemes that would jeopardize the peace of the kingdom. About the same time he decided on a permanent location for the seat of Government. Up until that time the court had established its residence in a number of Spanish cities, moving from one to another. This proved to be an expensive procedure at the same time that it became a heavy burden on the cities that were obliged to entertain the court. Despite the advice of many of the courtiers, who favored a city close to the French frontier so as to be nearer Flanders, Ximenez selected Madrid as the capital of the kingdom, both because of its central location and its inclusion in the diocese of Toledo, a significant reason in itself, as he would thus be enabled to use his ample revenues in recruiting an army to suppress any threatened insurrection. As a consequence, the court left Guadalupe for Madrid, the beginning of February.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The choice of Madrid as the capital of the kingdom was later confirmed by Philip II.

In the same post by which Charles sent his letter confirming the appointment of Ximenez, he sent another letter to Adrian in which he requested his being proclaimed King despite the fact that he knew he had right only to the title of Prince Regent. Nevertheless, as soon as news arrived in Flanders telling of Ferdinand's death, he countenanced his courtiers addressing him as King and grinned with delight when they did so.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, he was encouraged in his pretension by the letters of condolence sent him by both the Emperor Maximilian and Pope Leo X, following Ferdinand's death, in which they addressed him as King. Both Ximenez and the royal council knew how fraught with danger were his wishes and they endeavored by every means to convince him of the impropriety of his request during the lifetime of Joanna. But he remained obdurate. Finding himself caught on the one side by the haughty Charles, and, on the other, by the rebellious nobles, Ximenez espoused the cause of the former and, March 30, 1516, peremptorily arranged for the proclamation of Charles as King, with the proviso, however, that on all documents of state his name should be preceded by that of Joanna while she lived.<sup>2</sup> Charles was solemnly and officially proclaimed King, first in Madrid, April 11th, and within a short time in all the other principal cities

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<sup>1</sup>Cartas de los Secretarios, Appendix iii, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 155.

of the realm.<sup>1</sup> On the same day, or possibly the day before, there was in Toledo a spontaneous unofficial proclamation as much to endorse the action of Ximenez as to acclaim Charles.<sup>2</sup>

The hostility that existed between the nobles and the new regent convinced Ximenez of the folly of depending on them for levies in case of an insurrection since they were the most likely ones to rebel. As a means of curbing their power and at the same time increasing his, he inaugurated a radically new system for providing the government with a well trained militia. In all the principal towns and cities he enrolled a considerable number of volunteers who, without the promise of compensation, were willing to be trained for and engage in military duty in behalf of the government. In return for their services, however, they were to receive special privileges, and were to be exempt from the obligation of entertaining the crown, and from certain taxation. This scheme met with such a general approbation of the towns that within a brief time there were thirty three thousand citizens in training to the great surprise of all the powers of

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<sup>1</sup> There has been some confusion among the former writers regarding the dates. Both Hefele and Prescott are in error. The latter in intimating that Charles was proclaimed King the following day and the former, in asserting that it was the last of the month. A thoroughly documented account of these events appears in Historia de Madrid, by Amador de los Rios y Rada y Delgado, Madrid, 1860, vol. ii, part i, cap. xix.

<sup>2</sup> Cartas del Cardenal, lxiii.

Europe and the suspicion of France in particular.<sup>1</sup> Although Charles first disapproved of this action, because of the calumny of the nobility who saw their powers eclipsed, he later gave his hearty approval to it when he realized the increased prestige the militia gave him.

Not finding a very sympathetic ear in Charles, the disgruntled nobility then turned to Ximenez and by threats and intimidation hoped to make him more pliable to their will at the same time that they sought means of precipitating his downfall altogether. When Ximenez was apprised of their schemes, unperturbed, he dismissed the subject by laconically remarking, "These men have only words, not money to raise a revolt." A number of the more recalcitrant ones, however, are said to have gone in a body to demand of him the source of his authority. He referred them to Ferdinand's testament and to Charles' letter confirming it. When they still objected he bade them return the following day when he would show them his credentials. On their return, he took them to a window of his apartment and, pointing to a detachment of soldiers who were exercising in the square below, said, "These, gentlemen, are the powers by which I govern Castile,

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<sup>1</sup>  
Archetypo, fols. 250-257.

by the will of the King, my lord and master."<sup>1</sup>

An occasion for proving the great merit of the militia was not long in arising. Shortly after the death of Ferdinand, a revolt broke out in Malaga and threatened, if not quelled, to give the nobles their desired opportunity of discrediting Ximenez in the eyes of Charles. According to the laws of Spain, the grand-admiral of Malaga had jurisdiction over seamen, and their crimes, while the local civil courts had it in all other cases. Although in theory this had seemed to be an acceptable practice, experience had taught it to be otherwise as many infractors, when arrested by either branch of the law, asserted they were subject only to the other with the result that justice very frequently miscarried. This practice had led to so many abuses that the people of Malaga had besought Ferdinand to coordinate the two agencies or eliminate the jurisdiction of the admiralty in criminal cases altogether. When the King died without having acceded to their wishes, the people determined to find redress in their own way. They seized the admiralty office, expelled its officers, and

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<sup>1</sup>Alvar Gomez, fol. 158, intimates there may be more fancy than fact to the story, yet every writer after him, including Prescott and Hefele, has given whole hearted credence to it. Even to this day, the people of Madrid have localized that dramatic occurrence in the Casa Cisneros. Notwithstanding that later investigation has disclosed that this house was neither built nor occupied by Ximenez, but by a nephew of his, Benito Ximenez de Cisneros. Archivo Ibero-Americano, Año 1915, vol. iv, p. 438.

refused obedience to the admiral. On hearing what they had done, Ximenez plead with the people to reconsider their action and to seek redress through the regularly appointed and lawful channels. But his letter had little effect.<sup>1</sup> Instead, the Malagueños, incited by many of the enemies of Ximenez, rejected his authority and prepared to resist any attempts he might make to punish them. When Ximenez heard of their untenable position, he immediately dispatched a contingent of six thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry of the newly organized militia, under the command of Antonio de la Cueva, with orders to move in forced marches to the southern city. With the approach of the royal army, the people of Malaga were convinced of their lost cause and sued for peace. De la Cueva took possession of the city without a struggle and, after punishing the ring leaders and pardoning the others, restored the town to peace and obedience.<sup>2</sup>

Simultaneously with the establishment of the militia, the Cardinal undertook the undergirding of the navy. The lively commerce in which Spain had engaged with the European powers had been made possible largely through an expanded merchant marine and a strong navy that had protected it from the pirates infesting the Mediterranean and

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 169.

<sup>2</sup>Cartas del Cardenal, lxxxix.

which had reached its zenith by the middle of the fifteenth century. The expulsion of the Jews, and later of the Moors, had had a detrimental effect upon Spanish commerce which, in turn, precipitated the decay of the merchant marine. The need for a strong navy thus having disappeared, and their having to concentrate all their efforts on settling internal problems, the Catholic Kings had allowed the navy to fall into disrepair. As a consequence, the once flourishing shipyards and arsenals of San Sebastian and San Vicente, in the north, and Seville, in the south, were lying idle.<sup>1</sup> However, the expansion of Spain in the north of Africa, and the increasing depredations of Moorish corsairs, notably under the Barbarrojas, convinced Ximenez of the urgency of rehabilitating the many vessels that were rotting away in Spanish ports and the building of new ones. He therefore re-established the shipyards at Seville, overhauled and improved the existing fleet, principally the galleys that had been the accepted vessel for combat, and added several others of larger tonnage in keeping with the trend of the day.<sup>2</sup>

It was not long before Ximenez had an opportunity of putting the navy to a test. All travel in the Mediterranean had been greatly imperiled by the piracies of principally

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<sup>1</sup>See Fernando Duro, La Marina de Castilla, vol. i, cap. xx. for a historical survey of the maritime strength of Spain in this period.

<sup>2</sup>Cartas del Cardenal, lxxv.

two brothers, Horruc and Haradin, the sons of a renegade Christian, usually known as Barbarroja. In April of 1516, at the head of eighteen vessels of war and three galleys, they laid siege to Algiers, a Moorish town subject to Spain.<sup>1</sup> They incited the Mohammedans against the Spaniards and, on promises of helping them in throwing off the Spanish yoke, gained entrance to the city and imperiled the Spaniard garrison and the nearby towns. Several efforts to succour the town having failed and the depredations in the Mediterranean still continuing, Ximenez ordered the newly equipped fleet against the Moors. Near Alicante, they encountered four Turkish vessels of considerable size on July 26th, and, after a decisive battle, destroyed the enemy's vessels and took about four hundred of their number prisoner.<sup>2</sup> Encouraged by this victory and by the congratulations of Pope Leo X, Ximenez directed the navy to make plans at once to proceed against Algiers.<sup>3</sup>

The Spaniards arrived at the African port September 29th, and disembarked the following day but for the want of agreement among the officers, and discipline among the ranks who began looting the surrounding countryside, they experienced disastrous reverses and were completely routed

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<sup>1</sup>La Fuente, Historia de España, vol. viii, cap. xix.

<sup>2</sup>Cartas del Cardenal, lxxiii.

<sup>3</sup>Gomez, fol. 163.



by Harruc.<sup>1</sup> This loss, though a sad blow to the aspirations of Ximenez, intensified his program of developing a strong navy in which he was greatly aided by special privileges he had obtained from the Pope. By the following May he had an entirely new fleet equipped and ready for action.<sup>2</sup>

Ximenez also gave his attention to the finances of the state which had fallen into great disrepair during the closing years of Ferdinand's administration. He made a thorough investigation of all offices and suppressed many that he believed to be unnecessary and which obviously had been created to supply their holders with patronage. His inquiry also revealed salaries that were wholly disproportionate to the service rendered and, despite vicious opposition, he ordered them reduced. He furthermore revoked many pensions that had been too freely given by Ferdinand and Isabella. Although most of these terminated with the death of the sovereigns, they were still being paid. Moreover, he uncovered scandalous practices in the military orders that were defrauding the crown of large sums annually. Chief offender in this respect was the Order of Calatrava which, in addition to other defalcations, had retained

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., fol. 180; Cartas del Cardenal, lxxxix.

<sup>2</sup>Cartas de los Secretarios, xiii.

possession of two towns that rightfully belonged to the crown.<sup>1</sup>

So salutary were all these reforms and economies that within one year of his having taken over the regency, all former debts of King Ferdinand, amounting to fifty million maravedis, had been liquidated and the crown's revenues had been doubled.<sup>2</sup>

Ximenez similarly wished to rectify the abuses that had arisen from the alcavala, a ten per cent transaction tax that had been imposed by Alfonso XI to help defray the wars against the Moors. Since the reason for its existence no longer obtained and it led to all kinds of abuses, both on the part of the merchants and the tax collectors, Ximenez contemplated its abolition. Although he was unable to carry out his designs in this respect, he was able to correct many of its evils by intrusting its collection to the respective towns and cities and not to outside agents.<sup>3</sup>

All these reforms, however, brought but little benefits to Spain. The unbridled spending of Charles and his Flemish courtiers drained Spain of her resources. In vain did Ximenez remonstrate with Charles for his lavish spending. In vain did he remind him that in four months he had given

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fols. 174, ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cartas del Cardenal, xii.

<sup>3</sup>Gomez, fol. 257.

away more money than his grandparents had in forty years.<sup>1</sup>

The extravagances continued and Spain remain impoverished.

The fearless and uncompromising administration of Ximenez served only to accentuate the hostility of the nobles and not to lessen it. With each new enactment that limited their power, their hatred for the Cardinal increased as did also their representations before Charles. To all these, however, the youthful ruler turned a deaf ear, being too occupied with the glitter and extravagances of the Flemish court to pay much heed to his vassals in Spain. It was only when Dean Adrian, whose authority was also eclipsed, began to complain bitterly of the arbitrary and absolute rule of Ximenez that Charles began to listen. Hoping to attain two ends by the same means, on the one hand please the disgruntled nobles and, on the other, curb the power of Ximenez, Charles proposed that hence forth Castile should be governed by a triumvirate composed of Ximenez, Adrian, and his ambassador La Chaux, whom he was sending to Spain. Ximenez welcomed the suggestion and received La Chaux with a genuine cordiality<sup>2</sup> but when he perceived his shallowness and little interest in state craft, he proceeded to ignore his presence.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hefele, p. 496.

<sup>2</sup>That this cordiality was genuine is ascertained from the tone of his letters. See Cartas del Cardenal, lxxxiv. and lxxxv.

<sup>3</sup>Gomez, fols. 189, 190.

When La Chaux failed to remedy the situation, a second envoy, Baron Armstoffs, was sent in his place. Ximenez received him with the same cordiality as his predecessor and extended him the same consideration. Because of his high-minded measures, his co-regents sought to rebuke him on one occasion, as well as assert their dignity, by signing several documents first and then sending them to him for his signature. When he understood their intent, he calmly tore up the papers and ordered his secretary to make out new ones which he then signed and sent out without the signatures of his co-regents.<sup>1</sup>

Ximenez attacked the foreign problems of the kingdom in the same vigorous manner. Three years before the death of Ferdinand, that monarch had boldly, by the flimsiest of reasons, conquered Navarre and put its king, John D'Albert, to flight. Two years later (1515) Navarre was annexed to Castile. Meanwhile, exiled King John, who had been unable to see any justification for Ferdinand's action, began to enlist the sympathies of France who was only too glad to offer whatever assistance she could in John's struggle against their common enemy to the south. The news of these preparations reached Spain before the death of Ferdinand and Ximenez, anticipating trouble with Navarre and hoping to avert the unnecessary bloodshed, offered to arbitrate the differences between Ferdinand and John. Unfortunately,

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<sup>1</sup>ibid.

nothing could come of it as the letters were dispatched the day after Ferdinand's death and before the news of that event had reached Alcala.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as John heard of Ferdinand's death, he became convinced that the propitious time for attack had come in his effort to regain his kingdom. With the help of Francis I of France, and of the Agramont faction which had deserted to France, John had amassed a considerable army. On March 5th a courier arrived in Madrid notifying Ximenez that ten thousand men had reached the frontier and were ready to march across as soon as the snows had melted. The following day another messenger arrived announcing that their number had increased to fourteen thousand and they were blockading the frontier. Thereupon, Ximenez took immediate steps to strengthen and defend Navarre. He replaced its viceroy, Fadrique de Acuña, a man little expert in military tactics, by Antonio Manrique, the duke of Najara, as governor of the province. This choice, however, met with such strong disapproval by the grand-constable, that he threw every obstacle in Najara's path and greatly threatened the loss of Navarre.

Simultaneously, Ximenez dispatched an army of three thousand men, under the command of Fernando Villalba, to

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<sup>1</sup>This letter, dated January 24, 1516, was reproduced in the Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, July-September, 1893, vol. xxiii, and has been reprinted by Retana, Cisneros y Su Siglo, vol. ii, pp. 62-63.

the French frontier. Although greatly inferior in number, they resolved to initiate the attack instead of awaiting it. John's forces were surprised in the gorges of the Pyrenees (March 23rd) and, although they offered a bitter struggle, were finally routed. Among the prisoners taken were many who belonged to the better families of Navarre. King John escaped into France where he died a short time later. (June 17th).

In order to prevent any re-occurrence of trouble, as well as in the interest of economy, Ximenez followed up the victory with the razing of many of the fortifications and citadels, despite the importunate pleas of the Navarrese.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, however, he ordered the restoration and strengthening of the walls of Pampelona, the capital, of San Juan de Pie de Puerto, and other strategic centers.<sup>2</sup>

The same solicitude that Ximenez manifested for the well-being of the King's subjects in the Old World, he manifested also for those of the New. The Catholic Kings, with their characteristic zeal for the spread of the Christian faith, had established a mission in the New World shortly after its discovery by Columbus. Whatever good it might have accomplished however, was nullified by the greed,

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<sup>1</sup>Cartas del Cardenal, lxiii. He did not order the razing of all fortifications, as many historians assert. That order was given later by Charles V when all citadels but those of Pampelona, Puente de la Reina, and Estella were dismantled.

<sup>2</sup>Cartas del Cardenal, lxiii, lxiv.

jealousy, and quarrels of the Spaniards who had gone to America. When word reached Spain of the injustices meted out to the indigenes by both civil and ecclesiastical rulers, the sovereigns in 1502 appointed Nicolas Ovando, knight of the order of Calatrava, governor of the Indies in place of Francisco de Bobadilla, whose deportment, particularly in regard to his humiliation of Columbus, had been the scandal of Spain.<sup>1</sup> At the instigation of Ximenez, the sovereigns sent with Ovando a company of celebrated monks from different Spanish monasteries to make an unbiased investigation and to attempt the correction of abuses. Fray Francisco Ruiz, the secretary and companion of Ximenez, was at the head of the commission but because of ill-health had to return to Spain six months later.<sup>2</sup> The genuineness of Ferdinand's and Isabella's desire to improve the circumstances of the Indians can be appreciated by the following instructions accompanying the commission: first, the freedom of all the Indians was to be proclaimed; second, they were to be ruled in the same just manner as were the other subjects of Castile; third, they were to be instructed in the Holy Catholic faith; and, fourth, they were to be treated in such a manner as to encourage rather than retard their conversion.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Herrera, Historia de las Indias Occidentales, dec. i, lib. iv, cap. xi; lib.v, cap.i, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., lib. v, cap. i, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup>op. cit., lib. iv, cap. xii, p. 117.

It is quite evident that the commission was not very successful in effecting the needed reforms as in 1511 we discover the Dominicans thundering against the inhumanitarian treatment the Spaniards were giving the Indians. Leaders in this movement were the friars Montesino and Las Casas who, greatly perturbed over the oppression of the indigenes, had arisen to defend their rights. In a sermon preached in the cathedral of Santo Domingo, Montesino, who was an eloquent speaker, had thundered against the prevailing attitude assumed by the Spaniards and had firmly denounced them for their greed and inhumanity. Included in the audience were Diego Columbus, the governor of the island, and many of the highest dignitaries who, fearing reforms prejudicial to their interests, had appealed to the Dominican vicar to suppress the fiery utterances of his subordinate. Instead, though the Order was threatened with expulsion, he endorsed the position of Montesino and, presumably, encouraged him in the course he was pursuing. On the following Sunday, before an overflowing congregation, Montesino repeated his former denunciations, but with greater vehemence, and announced that the sacrament and absolution would be denied everyone owning an Indian as a slave.<sup>1</sup>

Greatly incensed, the civil rulers resolved to appeal to the King and appointed a commission of their number to repre-

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., lib.viii, cap. xi, pp. 221, 223.



sent them. The Dominicans did likewise and included Montesino in their party. King Ferdinand listened to both sides attentively and though he seemed impressed by the arguments of Montesino, was unwilling to commit himself. Instead, he appointed a committee of several ecclesiastics and lawyers to study the whole matter, particularly in the light of Isabella's will, and to make a full report on the rights of the Indians. On the basis of this report, which declared that the indigenes of Hispaniola were entitled to every right enjoyed by the Spaniards, Ferdinand ordered a better treatment of the Indians and forbade all slavery excepting of the cannibalistic tribes. Nothing was said, however, about the iniquitous system of repartimientos, or grants of Indians, which, in practice, amounted to the same thing as slavery.<sup>1</sup>

About the same time, possibly because he did not share the general attitude or possibly because he feared losing his position, Governor Columbus addressed a letter to Ximenez in which he states that "the Indians have been made to understand that we have only gone among them to make Christians of them so that they might serve God and become subjects to His Highness."<sup>2</sup> But he also laments the presence of so many adventurers and worldly ecclesiastics who

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., lib.viii, cap. xii, pp.223,224.

<sup>2</sup>Diego Columbus, First Extant Letter from America, Jan. 12, 1512. Pub. by Maggs Bros., London, 1929, p. 10.

were greatly undermining the influence of the Church. Especially does he complain of the scandalous deportment of Father Pablo de Solis, the Franciscan Provincial, who had brought his order into disrepute, "although it had enjoyed a good reputation before his election." He then appeals to Ximenez to use his influence with Ferdinand in abolishing the pernicious repartimientos, as the rapacity of the Spaniards and their inhuman treatment of their slaves greatly nullified the good effects of the Gospel. And, for the sake of the prestige of the Christian Church in America, he exhorts that the greatest care be exercised in the selection of missionaries, sending only those of good reputation and conscience.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the pleas of Columbus and of the Dominicans, the circumstances of the Indians were unimproved. In fact, they became greatly worse the following year when Ferdinand, by virtue of a papal bull, relaxed his previous instructions, permitting unbridled slavery, and ordered the Dominicans to observe a greater moderation in their preaching.<sup>2</sup>

Greatly vexed by the unhappy turn of affairs, both Las Casas and Montesino returned to Spain in 1515 to plead anew the cause of the Indians. Ferdinand received them with

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Herrera, dec. i, lib. ix, cap. xiv.

cordiality and promised to study the matter at greater length but before he could arrive at a decision he was overtaken by death. The two friars then resolved on going to Flanders to seek the sympathies of Charles but were deterred by Ximenez who had meanwhile become regent and promised to give them a hearing. He therefore appointed a special commission, which he himself headed, and which included Dean Adrian, the licentiate Zapata, Doctors Carvajal and Palacios Rubios, and Francisco Ruiz, the Bishop of Avila.<sup>1</sup> This commission held several audiences with Las Casas and Montesino and, after an exhaustive survey of the laws governing Hispaniola was made, the two missionaries and Doctor Palacio Rubios were appointed a committee to determine the best mode of government for the Indians that would, at the same time, guarantee their liberty. Their report convinced Ximenez that the whole question of Hispaniola was not one for statesmen to decide but for ecclesiastics. Since, however, neither Franciscans nor Dominicans would be free from prejudice in the matter, he directed the general of the Jeronimites to nominate from that order several men of unquestioned integrity as well as ability to serve as his ambassadors to America.<sup>2</sup> Twelve persons were recommended but Ximenez, believing that three would be

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<sup>1</sup>Helps, The Life of Las Casas, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., pp. 39-41.

sufficient, instructed Las Casas to select that number. This prelate, accordingly, in conference with the General of the Order, appointed Luis de Figueroa, Prior of the Convent of La Mejorada, Alonso de Santo Domingo, Prior of the Monastery of Ortega, and Bernardino de Manzanedo.<sup>1</sup> These appointments were approved by Ximenez who later added to their number Alonso Zuazo, a distinguished jurist, who had full powers to investigate the government of Hispaniola and effect whatever reforms were necessary. In all cases, his decision was to be final. Both Zapata and Carvajal objected to these extensive powers but were overruled by Ximenez who compelled them to sign the necessary documents, which they did but only under protest.<sup>2</sup>

The instructions drawn up for the guidance of the commission were both extensive and inclusive. Immediately on their arrival they were to liberate all Indians who were owned by absentee masters and those owned by judges or other officials. They were to hold a court of impeachment for all officers of the colony "who had lived as the saying is 'as Moors without a king'."<sup>3</sup> In the presence of monks whom the Indians could trust, they were to assure all caciques that the Indians were free and that any of their grievances

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>3</sup>op. cit., p. 45.

would be adjusted at once. They were to educate the Indians in the arts of agriculture and animal husbandry; indoctrinate them in the principles of the Christian religion, particularly the meaning of the sacraments; and teach them the Spanish language and how to read.

Additional regulations provided for the building of villages and their administration, the erection of hospitals, churches, and schools, and the maintenance of the aged and the indigent. The periods of time and conditions under which Indians could work in the mines and smelters were also prescribed. Other regulations included the compensation of workers, the labor of women, standards of marriage, the extension of missionary activities, and future explorations. All these regulations were, however, subject to modification at the discretion of the commissioners.<sup>1</sup>

Attempts having been made also about the same time to import Negro slaves into America, Ximenez dealt with this matter in the same uncompromising manner. Because of their greater endurance than the Indians, a great number of Africans had already been brought to the New World and not a few of the Spaniards advocated the legalizing and extension of this trade pointing out, as they did so, to the great returns that would accrue to the royal exchequer. Whether it was because of political or humanitarian reasons is

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<sup>1</sup>For a complete account of these instructions see Herrera, dec. ii, lib. ii, caps. iii-v.

still uncertain, but Ximenez firmly resisted all demands in this respect and published an edict prohibiting the traffic in Negroes.<sup>1</sup>

The commission of Jeronimites, and several others who were accompanying them, excepting Zuazo and Las Casas, set sail from Sanlucar de Barrameda, November 11, 1516. Zuazo was not included in the party because he had been unable to get ready in time, and Las Casas, because the Jeronimites feared that his presence might jeopardize their reception and had made several pretexts to keep him behind. Greatly nettled, suspecting a rebuff, Las Casas lodged a complaint with Ximenez who provided him with passage on another vessel a fortnight later.

The envoys landed at Santo Domingo on the 20th of December. They presented their credentials to the apprehensive civil dignitaries and began at once their inquiry into conditions in the colony. Committed, however, to a policy of prudence and caution, they investigated thoroughly and took the testimony of many witnesses, both native and European, but made decisions slowly. Being convinced that many radical changes might involve the undermining of the economic structure, if not its destruction altogether, they abolished first only the repartimientos of absentee owners, permitting those in residence to continue theirs provided they accorded the Indians decent treatment.

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., dec. ii, lib. ii, cap. viii.

In his capacity of "Protector of the Indians", a position to which he had been appointed by Ximenez, Las Casas became greatly aroused by the decision of the commission and, believing that all repartimientos should have been abolished at once, he accused the Jeronimites of duplicity and compromise, and even threatened them with violence. His passionate zeal in behalf of the Indians so blinded him to realities that, not finding redress before either the civil or ecclesiastical authorities, he finally resolved to return once more to Spain. He sailed for America in May of 1517 but when he arrived at Spain the Cardinal was too ill to receive him. In consequence, he went to Valladolid to await the coming of King Charles.

Meanwhile, the Jeronimites, fearful of the unfavorable impression Las Casas might convey to King Charles of their administration, deputed one of their number, Bernardino de Manzanado, to appear in their behalf at the royal court. By the time Las Casas was able to present his grievances, Ximenez had passed away so that thereafter Las Casas was forced to seek protection for his Indians at the hand of the young King.<sup>1</sup>

To the interest Ximenez had in the Indians in his capacity of Regent was added his further interest as Inquisitor-General. The rapid colonial expansion in the New World had soon necessitated the establishment of two dioceses, one

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., dec. ii, lib. ii, caps. xv and xvi.

at Santo Domingo and the other at Concepcion de la Vega. As Grand-Inquisitor, Ximenez extended the Holy Office across the Atlantic and appointed the two bishops already there inquisitors for the islands. Because the Christian doctrine was so foreign to the experience of the indigenes, the Inquisition was at first intended solely to prevent heresy among the Old Christians who had gone to America. Under Charles V, however, it was extended to include also the Indians who were treated with the same ruthlessness as were the Spaniards but due to the adverse economic conditions it precipitated by its persecution of the Indians, the sovereign was compelled, in 1538, to exempt them from its jurisdiction.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the longing Ximenez had often expressed to spend his last days in solitude and meditation, they were destined to be extremely tempestuous ones. At the same time that he endeavored to quell the disturbances in Hispaniola, he was surrounded by greater disorders in the homeland. The prolonged absence of Charles, the many exactions of the Flemings, the inflexible will of Ximenez himself, and the increasing unrest of the nobility who were more and more chafing under the restraint in which they were held, all conspired to maintain Castile in a convulsed condition. Many of the important towns, among which Burgos

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., cp. xv.



took the lead, began demanding immediate remedial measures and the convocation of the cortes as the only alternative to civil war. In order to appease them, Ximenez, despite his aversion to popular assemblies, in January of 1517, fixed the meeting of the assembly for the following September, hoping that by then Charles would have arrived in Spain. At the same time he directed an urgent appeal to the King to proceed at once to Castile in order to prevent the rebellion of his Spanish subjects whose patience was nearing exhaustion by his continued absence and the shameless extortion of the Flemish court.<sup>1</sup>

Of equal consequence was the insubordination of many of the dissatisfied nobles who were constantly harassing the government of Ximenez. His greatest opposition came from the dukes of Infantado and Alba, and from the count Giron, of Ureña, the most powerful grandees of Spain. Their rebellious spirit led them into numerous clashes with Ximenez. They brazenly disregarded his proclamations, disobeyed his orders, violently seized towns over which they had no legal rights, and attacked the lawful representatives of the government. Moreover, they took their quarrels to the court at Flanders where they charged Ximenez with malfeasance in the discharge of his administrative duties.

As a result of their pernicious propaganda, in which

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol. 187.

they were joined by a number of other nobles and not a few ecclesiastics, they had been able to incite whole provinces against the regime of the Cardinal even to levying an armed force. Ximenez, who well appreciated the precariousness of his position, dared not assume the initiative against such influential persons and awaited a propitious circumstance when their ever increasing boldness would precipitate royal intervention. Such an occasion was not long in arising. The son of Giron, aided by several other young noblemen, had resisted and beaten the agents of Ximenez in the discharge of their duty. They then sought refuge in the town of Villadefredes, near Valladolid, which they fortified preparatory to resisting the royal forces. News of this scandalous affair evoked widespread condemnation. Ximenez immediately sent a strong detachment of the national militia, commanded by Sarmento, against the rebellious nobles. On the strong advice of the grand-constable, the young men fled from Villadefredes but not without first defiantly dragging an effigy of Ximenez, clad in pontifical robes, through the streets of the town. Surrounded by the superior forces of Sarmento, Villadefredes surrendered without a struggle. Sarmento found the town guilty of high treason and sentenced it to be burned to the ground, and the land ploughed and strewn with salt as a sign of its perpetual solitude. The fractious nobles were terrorized into submission by these strong measures and, though under duress,

they became more tractable to the will of the government.<sup>1</sup>

After a great many delays, which were occasioned as much by himself, who did not care to leave the pleasures of Flanders, as by his courtiers, who feared the influence of the strongminded Ximenez over the young King, Charles set sail for Spain, September 7, 1517. September 18th, he arrived at Tazona, on the coast of Asturias, and left at once for the nearby town of Villaviciosa. Five days later, the announcement of Charles' arrival reached Ximenez who at this time lay ill in the Franciscan monastery of La Aguilera, near Aranda, whither he had gone to be closer to Valladolid to await the King's arrival. The good news that Charles had finally reached Spain instilled new life in the aging Cardinal. He immediately dispatched a warm letter of welcome to the monarch expressing great joy over his arrival. At the same time, Ximenez also offered his service in guiding Charles through the intricate web of Spanish customs and state business. The King acknowledged this letter at once and expressed sincere regret over the Cardinal's ill-health; he then declared his great indebtedness for the untiring efforts manifested by Ximenez for the welfare of Castile and assured him he was looking forward with anticipation to the occasion when he could express his gratitude personally.

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., fols. 198-201.

The Flemish ministers, who had ever been apprehensive of Charles' meeting Ximenez, grew more so as they learned of the cordial tone of the correspondence between the two. As a consequence, they sought to delay Charles in the north of Spain as long as possible, hoping that in the meanwhile the Cardinal's illness would become so aggravated as to cause his death. In keeping with their plan, they tried to persuade Charles to visit Aragon before Castile. At the same time they endeavored to discredit Ximenez by harping on his arbitrary decisions, his highhanded policy, his notorious individualism, his moroseness, and his inability to work in harmony with even such gentle mannered a person as the Dean of Louvain.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, in order to be nearer the King, on October 17th, Ximenez removed to Roa, a little town near both Valladolid and Segovia, either of which might be selected as the residence of the court.<sup>2</sup> While here, he received November 6th, a letter from Charles "which is unmatched, even in court annals, for cool and base ingratitude."<sup>3</sup> Having finally succumbed to the machinations of his Flemish ministers, Charles invited Ximenez to meet him at Mojados,

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<sup>1</sup>op. cit., fol. 212.

<sup>2</sup>op. cit., fol. 213.

<sup>3</sup>Prescott, p. 707; La Fuente, Historia de España, vol. vii, cap. 27.

not far distant from Roa, where they could discuss the problems of the kingdom and might attempt to settle the private affairs of the royal house. This concluded, Ximenez would then be relieved of all anxieties of the government and would be permitted to seek that quietude which he longed for and so richly deserved. The King, for his part, would never forget all that he and Spain owed the Cardinal, which only God could recompense, and he would ever regard him with the same affection a well-born son has for his father.<sup>1</sup>

Ximenez received this curt dismissal not only from the regency but also from the royal council, in profound silence. Whether the arrival of the letter was coincidental or causal is not ascertainable, but the fact remains that shortly thereafter there was a recurrence of the fever from

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<sup>1</sup>Gomez, fol.215; Carvajal, Anales, cap. xxii. There has been a trend among modern writers to minimize the supposedly harsh tones of the letter and to discount the conclusions of Prescott, Hefele, La Fuente, Robertson and others, calling attention to the great difficulty of reconciling such a point of view with the cordiality of Charles' earlier letters. But, according to Carbajal, the letter in question was written by Bishop Mota, of Badajoz, who had earlier attached himself to the Flemish court and had ever thereafter been hostile to the policies of Ximenez. It is not beyond the realm of probabilities that Charles was not conscious of the deeper meaning that had been injected into the simple words of the letter. By a strange coincidence (but perhaps not so strange) both this letter has disappeared and the one letter of the collection of letters of the Secretaries in which it is discussed. See further, Conde de Cédillo, El Cardenal Cisneros, Gobernador del Reino, cap. xiii and Retana, Cisneros y Su Siglo, vol. ii, pp. 408-19.

which the Cardinal never recovered.<sup>1</sup> He made a final attempt to write a letter to Charles commending to his royal care the university of Alcala and his other foundations, but the necessary strength to scribble more than a few lines was lacking; even after he dictated the letter he was too weak to sign it. A few hours later, wholly conscious that he had come to the close of his life, he asked for the Sacrament. He received Extreme Unction at ten o'clock, the night of the 7th of November. At four o'clock the following morning, November 8, 1517, surrounded by his secretaries and familiars, he breathed his last repeating the words of the Psalmist, "In te, Domine, speravi", "In thee, Lord, have I trusted", in the eighty-second year of life and the twenty-second of his episcopate.<sup>2</sup>

His body, having been attired in his pontifical robes, was seated on a throne and all Roa, it being Sunday, was invited to pay their tribute to the great Cardinal, and of them many kissed his hands and feet.<sup>3</sup> The next day, after brief obsequies at Roa, the funeral train began its journey to Alcala where it arrived the following Saturday,

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<sup>1</sup>Cartas de los Secretarios, xl.

<sup>2</sup>Gomez, fol. 215.

<sup>3</sup>op. cit., fol. 216.

November 14th. News of its arrival having preceded it, it was met by the entire community, including the highest dignitaries of the city, church, and university. Final rites were held that afternoon in the University and, although Ximenez had requested the simplest of ceremonies, they lasted from noon until three o'clock. In keeping with his wish, he was buried in the College of San Ildefonso but when the University was transferred to Madrid in 1836, his remains were removed to the collegiate church La Magistral, in Alcala. A century and a half later, an attempt was made to have him canonized by Rome. King Philip IV in 1650, and again five years later, besought the interest of the Pope on the subject at the same time that Quintanilla wrote his work Archetipo de Virtudes to prove the great virtues of Ximenez. In the absence of satisfactory evidence for the many miracles claimed for him, the negotiations failed.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the Cardinal is honored to this day throughout all of Spain as one of her greatest saints.

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<sup>1</sup>Cartas de Roma Sobre la beatificación de Cisneros.

## C O N C L U S I O N

### THE CHARACTER OF XIMENEZ AND HIS ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY

In the preface to his translation of Dr. Hefele's work, Canon Dalton has declared that "no one but a Catholic can properly appreciate such a character as Ximenez"<sup>1</sup>. His remark would have been less fatuous and more pointed had he said that no one but a Spaniard can fully understand Ximenez.

Ximenez was a Spaniard of the Spaniards. He embodied within himself their virtues and their shortcomings and it is only as one understands the Spanish temperament that he is able to comprehend the life of Ximenez.

While this is not the place to enter into a discussion of the Iberian soul, it will not be amiss to call attention to its chief characteristics. Foremost among these is an intense individualism. Every genuine Spaniard feels himself to be born the equal of any and every man. "We are knights as the king is, only with less money," is the illuminating expression of the primitive Spanish sense of equality. Each true son of Iberia secretly believes himself to

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1- Hefele, Preface, p. xv. (1885 ed.)



be a monarch, a man apart, a being divinely chosen for some task. This individualism found its most perfect exemplification in the great mystics whose one passion, like St. John's of the Cross, its most classic type, is not to become lost in God but to draw God into himself, to possess Him in the fullest and most absolute sense. His individuality is so strong that it would absorb even Deity. A natural concomitant to this individualism is a lack of social instinct. The innate dislike to be bound together by obligation or mutual consent underlies the problem of Spanish regionalism, and has militated against the success of corporate enterprises carried on by the Spaniards.

Besides this strong individualism there appears the strong predominance of passion over will. Every conquest of the Iberian race, as every disaster it suffered, have not been the outcome of a calm reasoning process, in which the adequacy of means to ends were carefully calculated, nor yet the consequence of dogged persistence in a plan of action agreed on beforehand as the best. It has always been the result of a volcanic impulse produced by the sudden explosion of a dominant sentiment. For the Spaniard Don Quixote is far from being a comic personage. In the deeds of the Manchegan knight he sees his inmost being and his people's. The greatness of both has ever consisted in quijotadas, in blind, reckless, unstudied loyalties to ideas which momentarily possessed them.

A special and peculiar sense of justice is a third

characteristic of the Iberian soul. It is no accident that some of the greatest jurists of the sixteenth century were Spaniards, and that some of the greatest jurists of to-day are Ibero-Americans. Throughout Iberian history a sense of justice and right has predominated over the feeling of tenderness and pity. Humanitarian action has been determined by the claims of justice rather than by the welling-up of sympathy. No consideration of mere expediency must be allowed to interfere with the course of justice. No matter what upheaval may prove necessary justice must have its course. Of this order of justice was that which inspired the actions of Don Quixote. His was anarchic justice, carried out at the point of a lance. He liberated galley-slaves, although they afterwards stoned him. He saw wrongs where there were none, but he put them right just the same.

Paradoxically enough, however, once the principle of justice has been established the door is left open for the manifestation of clemency. Yet it is never mercy that triumphs over justice; friendship alone can achieve that victory. It thus comes about that what could never be obtained in the name of right, or even through a plea of mercy, can generally be obtained on the ground of friendship or through the good offices of a friend. Whatever law or justice may do, a friend can undo. And he does it not by modifying law but by transcending it. The law stands and is enforced, but some people are not under law, but under the grace of personal privilege.

Incredible as it may appear, catholicity is another attribute of the Iberian soul, a quality no less native to it than the individualism which is its basic trait. The Spaniard has as true a sense of the universal as he has of the individual. His interest tends to oscillate between man and the cosmos, terms which for him do not constitute a mutually exclusive either-or. He absorbs the universe, individualizing it, remaking it after his own image, imposing upon it his conception of abstract, undiversified unity. In the historic drama of Spain, the individual tended to absorb the nation; the nation then proceeded to absorb the world. This instinct for catholicity has produced many interesting phenomena in the history and life of Spain. Charles the Fifth's great preoccupation at the Council of Trent was that there should be no disruption in the ecumenical unity of Christendom. Father Vitoria was the founder of International Law and the natural precursor of the League of Nations. At the dawn of South American independence the liberator, Simon Bolivar, advocated the idea of a Federation of American nations. And Cardinal Ximenez gave unto the world the first printed polyglot Bible that was not distinctly Spanish, nor yet European, but ecumenical in its character.

Finally, over and above all, yet running through all, is a quality distinctly Iberian. The Spaniard is not a European but an Iberian. "Africa begins at the Pyrenees," says a modern writer and no Spaniard has sought to refute

him. Caught between two civilizations, a Christian and a Moorish, the Spaniard has produced yet a third which, though related to the two, is distinct and different, with the Spaniard recognizing this distinction and glorying in it. When Ferdinand intimated to Philip that he would be unable to understand the soul of the Spaniah race, he was not deriding that young monarch's abilities nor yet exalting his own. He was merely stating a fact recognized by all Spaniards and by all others who have been intimately associated with them. They have a quality that is peculiarly and unmistakably Iberian. It is Iberian through and through and not shared by other peoples.<sup>1</sup>

Such were the characteristics with which Spain had endowed her illustrious son and which largely determined his ecclesiastical policy. He was an individualist par excellence. His entire life, though not ego-centric nor yet anti-social, was one constant struggle to express his individualistic tendencies. His passion for solitude was as much a desire to escape what he believed were the stifling restraints of society as it was to seek the presence of God. Although circumstances forced him into court life he never became a part of it but ever remained aloof. He was pushed into positions of vast power, and he used this power to its last de-

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1- The above characterization of the Spaniard is a summary of Chapter i. of The Other Spanish Christ, by John A. McKay, which has been verified and supplemented by the Author's experience of almost twenty years among Spaniards and Ibero-Americans.

gree, but in so doing he neither sought nor accepted the counsel of others, whether it be in the conversion of the Moors at Granada, the administration of his diocese, the reformation of the monastic orders, the selection of Alcala for his university, or the regency of the Kingdom. His decisions were arbitrary and he ruled with the iron hand of a despot because he was an individualist in a nation of individualists.

Usually cool and calculating in his decisions, he nevertheless frequently reflected the national trend of being dominated by passion and not by reason or will. Hence, while we cannot condone we can comprehend many arbitrary decisions of which he was guilty. It was passion alone that prompted his inexplicable conduct at Granada; his deliberate trampling under foot of the solemn treaty made with the Moors; his holocaust of priceless and probably innocuous Arabic manuscripts. It was passion rather than reason that directed the bloody conquest of Oran and the ruthless and altogether unnecessary razing of Villadefredes. However much he and his followers may have tried to rationalize his acts, the fact remains that many of his momentous decisions were not made in the cold light of reason but in the heat of passion.

Moreover, Ximenez was, what must be apparent to all, an Iberian through and through. His thinking was circumscribed by the natural boundaries of Spain. Whatever interest he may have had in the political, cultural, or ecclesiastical life outside of Spain, he had with an eye solely for their

contribution to Spanish life. He gloried in Spain and in the Spanish Church and devoted his life to their advancement. He found himself in the midst of a corrupt ecclesiastical system, as hopelessly corrupt outside of Spain as it was within, but his reforming zeal was only for Spain. Had he been less Iberian, he might have included the whole Church, for he was equal to it, and possibly might have prevented the rise of Martin Luther. His university was for Spaniards; he neither sought nor did he draw to its classrooms students from foreign countries as did the universities of Paris, Bologna, and Oxford. And it was this strongly nationalistic characteristic that led him to disregard even the wishes of the Pope and openly flaunt his authority when they were unfavourable to his course of action.

His ecclesiastical policy reflected his nature and was distinguished, in addition, by three outstanding characteristics: an inflexible justice, an uncompromising rectitude, and a high sense of trust.

In an age when he was surrounded on all sides by ecclesiastics and civil dignitaries who succumbed to expediency, Ximenez stands forth a solitary figure in his passion for justice. His standards were, undoubtedly, warped at times, nevertheless he steadfastly adhered to them even though a lower course of action might have meant greater personal comfort and a less troublesome administration.

It was this sense of justice that constrained him to endure the years of imprisonment at Uceda and Santorcaz rather

than relinquish a benefice to which he had full rights. At a time when patronage was the accepted method of filling vacant offices or creating new ones, of rewarding services rendered, or of providing for some favourite, he scrupulously adhered to the one standard of merit and humility for the advancement of those under his jurisdiction. To court his favor in behalf of a friend or to solicit the appointment to a benefice inevitably led to a prompt and curt refusal. This was as true for the humblest prelate as it was for royalty itself. Hence, he was quite willing to incur the wrath of the powerful Mendoza family, and even of Queen Isabella, in deciding the question of the governorship of Cazorla, rather than compromise the policy he had adopted.

Similarly, his conflict with the pope and the Franciscan generals, in the matter of the monastic reforms, is not to be attributed to contumacy nor yet obstinacy but to his high sense of justice. He had the conviction that he had embarked on the right pathway and all else, expediency, royal or papal favor, and even his own career, must yield to what he was convinced was right and just and for the glory of the Church.

His policy was also one of uncompromising rectitude. It was such in his own personal life. Having taken the vow of poverty, he strictly adhered to it. To the end of his days, although modified, he continued to practice the austerities begun during the early years of his monastic life. Even at the height of his power, had he been permitted, he would have worn only the humble garb of the Franciscan monk.

Not permitted to do so, however, by papal injunction, he nevertheless continued to wear it under the silks and satins that were required of him because of his exalted office. He never used the vast resources at his command for the gratification of his sensuous wants nor for his own comforts. As much as he was able he continued to live to the end of his days according to the strict rule of the Observantines. As a matter of fact, during his last illness, because he had carried his austerities to such a point as to endanger his life, Pope Leo X. enjoined him to abate his severe penance, to eat meat and eggs on the ordinary fasts, to take off his Franciscan garb, and to sleep on a more comfortable bed. But Ximenez would not hear to it. "Even laymen," he said, "put these on when they are dying; and now I am asked to remove them at a time like that, when I have worn them all my life."

He was impeccable in his morals. At an age when most prelates, from the papacy down, freely indulged in illicit affairs, and with the complete sanction of public opinion, he ever maintained the strictest purity in his personal life. At no time was there so much as a hint of scandal associated with his name. Although not a misogynist, he avoided as much as possible any dealings with women outside of the confessional. Whatever other contacts with them might have been necessary because of the diversity of his interests, they were always circumspect and as brief as possible. He never permitted a woman to be attached permanently to his house-



hold and refused to spend the night under the same roof with one of the opposite sex.<sup>1</sup>

He demanded this same rectitude from his subordinates. He was not opposed to wealth per se, but to its possession by those who were not entitled to it. He himself was not averse to receiving the revenues of the wealthiest diocese in Spain but he received them only as a trust and not for his own personal advancement or gratifications. He believed that if a monk had voluntarily and solemnly taken the vow of poverty he should observe it. Hence, his merciless sequestration or destruction of all property held by the mendicant orders and his toleration of property of others only when held in common.

He never countenanced the immorality whether of ecclesiastics or of others and ever sought measures to correct what was, perhaps, the most flagrant and deep-seated evil of Spanish life. One of his first acts as Archbishop was to summon the two synods of Alcala and Talavera to enact remedial measures for this evil among ecclesiastics. As Inquisitor-General he became greatly concerned over the abuses of

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1- His biographers refer to several instances in which his jealous regard for his reputation led him to the point of rudeness. When he went to Burgos in 1512, he refused the lodgings offered him by the King in the palace of the Counts of Salinas "because the old Countess would be there" as well as "doña Maria de Ulloa." (Cartas del Cardenal, xxxi, xxxii, and xxxiii) On another occasion, when going through Torrijos, in 1511, in order for him to accept her hospitality, doña Teresa Enriquez had to pretend being absent; when Ximenez discovered her ruse, he haughtily left the house, although the hour was well advanced, to spend the night in the Franciscan convent. Gomez, fol. 133.

the officary of the Holy Tribunal and continually sought to curb their passionate impulses.

He invariably dismissed at once from his household any with whom was associated a suspicion of unbecoming conduct and made his investigations afterward. He violently opposed Archbishop Fonseca of Santiago, when that prelate proposed to bestow the right of succession to the see on his own son. He became thoroughly aroused when Alonso Carrillo, the former archbishop of Toledo, was buried beside his son Troilo in the Franciscan monastery at Alcala and ordered the body of the latter to be removed.

Ximenez was deeply conscientious in all things he did. His code of ethics probably will not bear the scrutiny of twentieth century standards of morality but he followed it to the letter without compromise and without fear or favor.

The third characteristic of his ecclesiastical policy was a high sense of stewardship or trust. While his predecessors in Toledo and other ecclesiastics in high position had extravagantly expended their vast revenues for self-gratification or the enrichment of their families and hangers-on, Ximenez carefully budgeted his income, as has already been pointed out, and maintained a strict accounting of all expenditures. He provided the few members of his family with a modest pension but with nothing more. They did not even benefit by his death as did the relatives of Cardinal Richelieu with whom Ximenez is often compared.

He pursued the same policy of economy in matters of state as he did in ecclesiastical affairs. During his re-

gency he dismissed all unnecessary employees, reduced the salaries of others, and cancelled many outlawed pensions. As a consequence, he was able to liquidate the vast indebtedness contracted by Ferdinand and to accumulate a national reserve as well.

His avariciousness of time was common knowledge. He neither wasted it himself nor permitted those about him to do so. He scarcely ever slept more than five or six hours a night. He never engaged in merely pleasurable pursuits as the many activities in which he was engaged demanded the attention of all his waking hours. At all times he had about him men of learning so that he might profit from their discussions whether at meal-time, while travelling, or even while he was being shaved. Delays were odious to him and in his long administration nothing lingered in his hands. "Common-place men," says Helps, "live by delays, believe in it, hope in it, pray for it; but His Eminence worked as a man who knew that the night was coming 'in which no man can work.'"<sup>1</sup>

Cardinal Ximenez was an ecclesiastic; he was a statesman; he was a soldier; he was a patron of learning, but first and foremost he was a Churchman, a churchman who was motivated by the one dominant passion to seek the glory of the Church. All else was subservient to it; all else must contribute to it. This was as true in his ecclesiastical

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1- Helps, The Life of Las Casas, p. 44.

reform, in his conquest of Oran, in his founding of the university, in his publishing of the Polyglot, in his interest in the Indians, as it was in the administration of his diocese.

The same dynamic found its expression in his regency. It could do no otherwise. However much we may endeavor to distinguish between church and state, for Ximenez there was no such distinction. The Church, in becoming nationalized, had become fused with the state in such a way that the juridical distinction between church and state disappeared. The throne and the altar, patriotism and religion were identical. "A monk in every helmet and a knight in every cowl," became more than an idle saying. It was an admirable and true characterization of this church-state fusion. Hence, the struggle Ximenez had with the nobility and for the preservation of Spain was not so much a struggle that he had as Regent as one he had as Primate of Spain.

Ximenez was a great reformer and a preacher of duty who depended, however, for the success of his reformation on external compulsion rather than on an inward constraint. He was a man of action, a grand administrator, a great governor of men. He is not so much a model of universal greatness or of Christian maturity - nor even as one large-minded and large-hearted in all ways beyond his contemporaries - but especially as a man of strong moral manhood, of a man great by virtue of the rectitude of his will rather than of the versatility of his intellect, doing a giant's work during a

long hot day of life, and doing it willingly and without weariness, loving justice passionately and supremely from youth to old age, and resolutely enduring and daring all things to discharge faithfully many high trusts committed to him.

Ximenez was a conscientious man, and herein lies his strength. But his conscience was to him as an instinct that had never been cultivated or enlightened by his intellect or by his affections. He was a devout man but scarcely a contemplative one. His highest notion of religion was worship by obedience and not communion through knowledge and love. Discipline and not doctrine was the need of life and the means of grace. He was a man of sagacity, energy, fidelity, fortitude, inflexible integrity, and unconquerable courage. He loved his church devoutly, felt with strong passions, and acted vigorously beyond the measure of most men. He was a giant in his day. He is a giant still in the history of men.

## APPENDIX

### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPARATUS

There is a great variety of material available for a study of the life and work of Cardinal Ximenez, ranging from the general historical works of that period to the strictly biographical treatises written by his admirers in practically every modern European language. Much of this material, still in manuscript form, is of unusual merit for supplementing and verifying the often all too meagre facts presented by the Cardinal's earlier biographers and for filling in the great gaps where they have been silent. Much of it, however, is of relatively small value as it has been based either on the originals or previous works or on evidences of doubtful historicity, which have been used to prove the Cardinal's superior excellence, and, therefore, sheds no added light on his life.

Contemporary Sources. Of prime importance are the Chronicles and Annals of that period. Worthy of consideration are the Anales breves del Reinado de los Reyes Catolicos, by Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal. Their author was a member of the Council of the Catholic Kings and was intimately connected with them during their reign. His annals extend from the mar-

riage of Ferdinand and Isabella to the coming of Charles V to Spain. Though often mentioning Ximenez only incidentally, at times they dwell on him at considerable lengths. The prominent position their author occupied in government circles as well as his sagacity and sound principles, entitle their testimony to a ready acceptance.

The Opus Epistolarum of Peter Martyr also belongs to this group. It is a collection of letters written between the year 1488 and their author's death, about 1525, and are of significant value because of the abundance and accuracy of detail and the intelligent criticism in which they abound. Some modern writers have believed their author to have been unfavourable to Ximenez, but his work was highly commended by Galindez de Carvajal, Alvaro Gomez, and Juan de Vergara who were very close to the Cardinal and also his admirers.

Of secondary value are the works of Lucio Marineo Sicul<sup>1</sup>, Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo<sup>2</sup>, and Fray Bartolome de Las Casas<sup>3</sup>.

Comparable in importance to the annals and chronicles are the Cardinal's letters and the many data concerning his life which were collected by members of his household and intimate friends, who also safeguarded them for posterity. One of these was Diego Lopez de Ayala, the faithful agent of Xi-

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1- Epistolarum familiarum libri decem et septem, Valladolid, 1514.

2- Quinquagenas, edited in 1880 by the Academia de la Historia.

3- Historia de las Indias, and Origenes de la Dominacion Española en America.

menez in Toledo. The letters written him by the Cardinal, many of them of such intimate nature as to be written in cipher, reveal the author's strength of character, the tremendous opposition he had to overcome during his political administration, and his amazing ability to deal efficiently with a score of matters at the same time.<sup>1</sup>

Juan de Vergara was another of the familiars of Ximenez who has made a contribution to Cisneriana. Because of his intimate acquaintance with the Cardinal, extending over many years of close association, and also because of his literary ability, he was, in a sense, the best gifted to write a biography of Ximenez. Shortly after beginning his work he was overtaken by illness, and later by death, so that all that remain of his writings are his notes and fragmentary documents that have found their way to several libraries and convents of Spain.<sup>2</sup>

Included also in this group is Juan de Vallejo, a canon of Sigüenza, who made the most comprehensive of these earliest records. During his youth he had been a page of the Card-

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1- They were published by Pascual Gayangos and Vicente de la Fuente, Madrid, 1867, under the title, Cartas del Cardenal don Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros, dirigidas a Don Diego Lopez de Ayala. Those of his secretaries, Cartas de los secretarios del Cardenal D. Fray Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros, were edited and published by de la Fuente, Madrid, 1875.

2- The principal fragment, in beautiful handwriting, is preserved in the Biblioteca Universitaria de Derecho, Madrid, and has been bound with other manuscripts under the title, Alvar Gomez, Memoriales para la historia de Cisneros. Other important fragments are to be found in the Archivo Historico Nacional.



inal's; later, he became a personal servant and, finally, his amanuensis who had so won his confidence that often, at the Cardinal's request, he would imitate his handwriting in transcribing documents of even considerable importance.

Vallejo's work is most dependable in those particulars where he himself was an eye-witness. Especially is this true for the period extending between the year 1504, when he became a confidant of Ximenez, and the latter's first regency. At other times, particularly in matters of chronology, he is not so trustworthy.

La Torre y del Cerro, who edited the Memorial of Vallejo, has pointed out how indispensable it has been to the biographers of Ximenez. So freely did Alvar Gomez and Quintanilla rely on it that the former, in many instances, adopted its vocabulary, while the latter was not averse to borrowing entire paragraphs and incorporating them bodily into his work. Through them it has passed on to the rest of the biographers of Ximenez, as well as to the many historians who have quoted them, so that the major portion of Vallejo's work has become public property.<sup>1</sup>

This period of contemporary writers was brought to a close by Alvaro Gomez de Castro and his celebrated work, De Rebus Gestis a Francisco Ximeno Cisnerio. Gomez was born at Toledo two years before the death of Ximenez and, obviously, was unable to know him personally. However, he lived in

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1- Prologue to Memorial de la Vida de Fr. Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros, published by Antonio de la Torre y del Cerro, Madrid, 1913 (p.xxiv). The original manuscript has been included in the volume containing the Ms. of Vergara.

the atmosphere of the great Cardinal and was on intimate terms with those who knew him best. Having very early manifested unusual literary skill, he was commissioned by the University of Alcala to write a biography of its founder. He collected material from every available source, used freely the works already mentioned and, after many years of patient labor, published at Alcala, in the year 1569, the first edition of his biography of Ximenez.

Notwithstanding that this work will ever remain the standard authority for the Cardinal's life, it is not wholly free from any shortcomings. Only too often the activities of Ximenez have been presented as unrelated to the period in which he lived. At other times, Gomez betrays an obviously warped judgment, induced, no doubt, by an undue estimate of the Cardinal's virtues. Nevertheless, for a long period of time it was the sole authority on Ximenez and will ever remain one of the essential sources for a study of his life.<sup>1</sup>

It should be pointed out that while the above mentioned works and sources are those of prime consideration, they are not the only ones of that period that deal with the activities of Ximenez. In the National Archives, at Simancas, are to be found numerous documents, concerned principally with his regency, that are still unedited.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in the lib-

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1- It was reprinted in the third volumes of Rerum hispanicarum scriptores aliquot, Francofurti, 1581, and in Hispaniæ illustrate . . . scriptores varii, Francofurti, 1603.

2- When the Author was at Simancas, in 1931, he was shown a number of rooms filled with documents of state that until then had been only roughly classified and tied into bundles. Under the classification, 'Secretaria de Estado y Camara de

rary of the collegiate church of Jerez de la Frontera, there is an unedited collection of autographic letters of Ximenez, written to Diego Lopez de Ayala, which, for some obscure reason, have been jealously kept from the view of even the serious investigator.<sup>1</sup>

Later Writings. Following the publication of De Rebus Gestis..., there appeared a number of new writings which were inspired either by it or by some of the sources that had been used in its preparation. Practically everyone of them had as its ultimate aim the beatification of the Cardinal. To this group belong the two works of Porreño, written between the years 1599 and 1604;<sup>2</sup> a biography published at Toledo, also in the year 1604, by Eugenio de Robles, a priest at San Marcos and Mozarabic chaplain;<sup>3</sup> and the panegyric of Pedro de Aranda Quintanilla y Mendoza, a Franciscan friar who had an ardent desire to attain the beatification of Ximenez by the court of Rome. He best typifies the new trend

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Castilla', there were numerous papers pertaining to the regency of Ximenez that had been only casually examined.

1- Fernandez de Retana, a Franciscan, seems to have been one of the rare exceptions to this inexplicable rule. In Cisneros y Su Siglo, vol. i, p. 10, note, he mentions having had access to some of the letters and having deciphered them.

2- Balthassar Porreño, Vida del Cardenal... and Dichos y hechos, virtudes... They were published by the Conde de Cedi-  
llo, in 1918, under the title, Dos tratados historicos tocantes al Cardenal Ximenez de Cisneros.

3- Compendio de la vida y hazañas del Cardenal don fray Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros: y del Oficio y Missa Muzarabe. A French translation, Histoire du Cardinal de Ximenes, appeared in Paris, 1631.

in studying the life of the Cardinal that had its origin about a century after his death. The title alone of Quintanilla's principal work suggests his thoroughly biased point of view and his development of the subject.<sup>1</sup> His book is a copious mass of detailed information drawn from every source that his patient ingenuity could uncover. Unfortunately, he is not always careful in evaluating this information and places too much credence in what is obviously biased testimony. Neither has he been guiltless of deliberately falsifying facts to make them suit his purpose. Apart from those instances which have<sup>been</sup> thoroughly documented, his work has little value to the historian.

With the failure of the beatification issue, interest in Ximenez began to wane in Spain. Outside of the occasional panegyric celebrating the founding of the College of San Ildefonso, there were no contributions made to the collection of Cisneriana during a century of quiescence.<sup>2</sup> It is outside of Spain one must go to find works on the Cardinal.

Foreign Works. Before the publication of Quintanilla's work, in 1635 there appeared in France a short biography by Baudier.<sup>3</sup> Although it was of scant merit, it was translated

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1- Archetypo de virtudes; espejo de prelados; el venerable padre y siervo de Dios, F. Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros. Palermo, 1653.

2- The National Library at Madrid has well over a score of these panegyrics, written mostly during the seventeenth century.

3- Baudier, Michel, Histoire de l'administration du Cardinal Ximenes, Paris, 1635. id., The History of the Administration of Cardinal Ximenez, trans. by W. Vaughn, London, 1671.

a few years later into the English language. Of greater importance, however, were the works of Flechier, Marsollier, and Richard,<sup>1</sup> especially that of Flechier, the Bishop of Nimes. It went through many editions and was translated into various languages.<sup>2</sup> Its author made a real contribution to the bibliography of Ximenez as he not only followed with great fidelity the original sources quoted by Gomez, Robles, and Quintanilla, but also availed himself of quite independent ones not mentioned by them.

The first work to appear in Germany on Cardinal Ximenez, was that of Hermann von der Hardt, published at Helmstadt in 1717, to commemorate the second centenary of the Cardinal's death.<sup>3</sup> More than a century later, in 1844, Dr. Karl Joseph von Hefele, professor at Tübingen University and Bishop of Rottenburg, published what has ever since been regarded as one of the most scholarly works on the life of Ximenez.<sup>4</sup>

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1- Flechier, Esprit, Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes, Paris, 1693. Marsollier, Jacques, Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal Ximenes, Paris, 1694. Richard, L'Abbe Rene, Parallele du Cardinal Ximenes . . et du Cardinal de Richelieu, Trevoux, 1704.

2- I have found references to eight editions in French, one in German, one in Italian, and four in Spanish.

3- Memoria secularis Ximenii Hispania primatis . . .

4- Der Cardinal Ximenes und die Kirchlichen Zustände Spaniens am Ende des 15 und Anfange des 16 Jahrhunderts, Tübingen, 1844. A second German edition appeared in 1851; two French editions in 1856 and a third in 1860. Also in 1860 appeared the first English edition, translated by Canon Dalton, a reprint of which was published in 1885. It was translated into Spanish in 1869.

Notwithstanding that his only sources were the works already published on the Cardinal and his times, it was by far the best treatment since that of Gomez. Dr. Hefele has not only made an acceptable study of Ximenez as a man, but has done so as he was related to the period in which he lived. His conclusions are, on the whole, rather sound and not too greatly biased although the reader cannot help but wonder whether the work was not intended to be as much an apology for the Spanish Inquisition as a biography of Ximenez. Over one hundred of its five hundred pages in the English translation have been devoted to that subject.

The first publication in English devoted to a study of Ximenez made its appearance in the year 1813. It came from the pen of Barrett, presumably a Roman Catholic priest.<sup>1</sup> It is of little significance as it is scarcely more than a summary of the works of Flechier and Marsollier, and of Robertson's Life of Charles V. It is mentioned here only because of the place it occupies in the development of the bibliography on Ximenez.

Toward the close of the nineteenth century there appeared a second work in English, this one by Sadleir.<sup>2</sup> It was followed thirty five years later by Lyell's Life of Cardinal Ximenes, published on the occasion of the fourth centenary of his death. Its greatest interest is for the student

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1- The Life of Cardinal Ximenes, London, 1813

2- Sadleir, A. T., Memoirs of Cardinal Ximenes . . and Simon de Montfort, New York, 1882.

of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.<sup>1</sup> A more recent work is that of Merton wherein the author has purposed to study Ximenez and the history of Spain from a psychological point of view.<sup>2</sup>

Modern Spanish Writings. From the middle of the nineteenth century on, interest in Ximenez was again revived in Spain and there appeared in rapid succession the works of Gonzalo de las Casas, Navarro Rodrigo, Martinez de Velasco, Hernando Espinosa, Casanova, and Bañares Magan.<sup>3</sup> These were followed in 1917, in commemoration of the fourth centenary of the Cardinal's death, by a great number of pamphlets and magazine articles, none of which presented, however, any fresh material. The only really worthwhile contribution made at that time was the publication of several of the original sources, chiefly Vallejo's Memorial and a number of the documents pertaining to the regency of Ximenez.<sup>4</sup>

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1- Lyell, James P. R., Cardinal Ximenes, Statesman, Ecclesiastic, Soldier, and Man of Letters, London, 1917.

2- Merton, Reginald, Cardinal Ximenes and the Making of Spain, London, 1934.

3- Gonzalo de las Casas, Jose, Honor a la memoria del celebre franciscano, fray Francisco, fundador de la Universidad de Alcala, Madrid, 1857. Navarro Rodrigo, Carlos, El Cardenal Cisneros, Madrid, 1883. Hernando Espinosa, Benito, IV Centenario de algunas de las fundaciones del Cardenal Jimenez de Cisneros, Madrid, 1907. Bañares y Magan, Jose, Cisneros y Richelieu, Pontevedra, 1911.

4- Vallejo, Memorial de la Vida de Cisneros, Madrid, 1913. Conde de Cedillo, El Cardenal Cisneros, Gobernador del Reino, Madrid, vol. i, 1921; vols. ii and iii, Collection of Documents, 1928.

In 1929 there appeared in Madrid the first volume, and in 1930, the second, of a pretentious work by Fernandez de Retana, a Franciscan friar, who had devoted most of his time over a period of years to collecting material for his publication.<sup>1</sup> Not only did he carefully scrutinize the original sources already mentioned, but he also painstakingly searched for new data in the libraries and archives of Spain, especially those of its many convents. Like Hefele, but to a greater degree, he has studied Ximenez as he was intimately related to his age and has also made a serious attempt to pursue his investigations as an honest historian rather than as a reverent disciple. Retana's work is by far the most authoritative and complete that has appeared to date. Not only has he presented fresh material and corrected many former errors but has also drawn conclusions that are generally sound and impartial.

Other Historical Writings. Finally, brief mention ought to be made of the contribution of the Spanish histories of that period. Because of the very definite influence Ximenez exerted in moulding the political as well as the ecclesiastical life of Spain from the time he was named confessor of Queen Isabella until his death, historians have been compelled to devote much space to his life and work. Although most of them have depended on the same sources that his biographers have, at times they have uncovered quite indepen-

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1- Fernandez de Retana, Luis, Cisneros y Su Siglo.



dent material. The works of Mariana, of the two de La Fuentes, and of Prescott, to mention only a few, are of superior worth;<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the history of Prescott, aside from a few corrections that have since been made, has been regarded as the most authoritative for the period of the Catholic Kings.<sup>2</sup> Included in this group is also that comprehensive series of writings of the historian Lea.<sup>3</sup>

The above sources are only the major ones available to the student of Cardinal Ximenez, his times, and his ecclesiastical policy. They are not a complete bibliography of works pertaining to the Cardinal's life nor have they intended to be. Such a bibliography would, of necessity, include the many books and pamphlets published in celebration of his anniversaries and of the institutions and foundations of which he was so vital a part; the numerous articles that have appeared from time to time in periodicals scattered all over Europe; and the many biographical references to be found in the Fran-

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3- Lea, Henry Charles, A History of the Inquisition in Spain, New York, 1907. id., The Moriscos of Spain; Their Conversion and Expulsion, London, 1901. id., Chapters From the Religious History of Spain, Philadelphia, 1890. id., The Inquisition in the Spanish dependencies, New York, 1908.

ciscan Chronicles, the histories of Alcala, Toledo, Sigüenza and Madrid, many of which are yet to be brought to light.

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